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CONTENTS

NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

FRONT PAGE

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

UN Debates, Votes on Yugoslav Expulsion *[TANJUG]* 2
Panic Submits Application for UN Membership *[TANJUG]* 2
Poland Expresses Support for UN Peace Program *[PAP]* 3
Karadzic Assesses Progress of Geneva Talks *[Belgrade TV]* 3
Kosovo President Briefs Press on Geneva Conference *[RILINDJA 18 Sep]* 4

ALBANIA

Helsinki Chairman Resigns Without Explanation *[ATA]* 5
Swiss Delegation Arrives; To Sign Agreement *[ATA]* 5
European Union Accepts Democratic Party Observer *[ATA]* 5
Berisha Views 'Opening' of Foreign Policy *[RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE 25 Aug]* 5

BULGARIA

SDS Rally Supports Government Against Zhelev *[BTA]* 7
Speakers Criticize Zhelev *[Sofia Radio]* 7
SDS Conference Fails To Resolve Differences *[KONTINENT 21 Sep]* 7
'Sharp Exchanges' Reported at SDS Meeting *[Sofia Radio]* 8
SDS Leaders Criticize Zhelev for Delaying Talks *[BTA]* 9
'Political Crisis' Reviewed; BSP, DPS Contacts *[BTA]* 9
BSP Plenum Adopts Declaration, Resolutions *[Sofia Radio]* 10
Kozloduy Reactor Fire Extinguished 'Immediately' *[Sofia Radio]* 10
Second Fire Reported *[Sofia Radio]* 10

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Foreign Minister on Czech-Slovak Cooperation *[CSTK]* 11
Devaty Discusses Work of Federal Security Service *[CSTK]* 11
New FIS Director Explains Partition of Service *[RUDE PRAVO 12 Sep]* 11
Havel Comments on Constitutional Issues *[CSTK]* 13
Right-Wing 'Current' Established Within CSS *[RUDE PRAVO 18 Sep]* 14
Bank Official Comments on Stability of Koruna *[METROPOLITNI TELEGRAF 19 Sep]* 14
Conservative League Wants Property Divided 3 to 1 *[METROPOLITNI TELEGRAF 16 Sep]* 14
Dlouhy Discusses Situation at Skoda Plzen Plant *[CSTK]* 15
Czech Ministers Disagree on Temelin Nuclear Plant *[CSTK]* 15

POLAND

General Makes Report on Russian Troop Withdrawals *[SIS]* 16
Opposition Parties Form Republic Coalition *[PAP]* 16

ROMANIA

Presidential Candidates Asked About Election Issues 17
President Ion Iliescu *[Bucharest Radio]* 17
Professor Ioan Manzatu *[Bucharest Radio]* 18
Professor Emil Constantinescu *[Bucharest Radio]* 20
Incumbent President Ion Iliescu *[Bucharest Radio]* 21

BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA

Commission Agrees To Close Camps, Free POW's *[Sarajevo Radio]* 23
Use of Chemical Agents, Napalm Alleged *[Sarajevo Radio]* 23
'Over 100' Muslims Said Killed in Vogosca Battles *[SRNA]* 23
Forty Civilians Reportedly Killed Near Kalinovik *[TANJUG]* 23
Serb Refugees Leave Goradze for Montenegro, Serbia *[TANJUG]* 23
'Some' 400 Mojahedin Reportedly Fighting *[AFP]* 24
Bosnian Posavina Brigade Commander Interviewed *[NOVI VJESNIK 6 Sep]* 24

CROATIA

Serbs Status in National Assembly Examined *[VECERNJI LIST 6 Sep]* 26

YUGOSLAVIA

Federal

Air Force Says Aircraft Not Flying Over Bosnia *[TANJUG]* 27
SDA Will Not Participate in Elections *[Belgrade Radio]* 27
Belgrade Red Cross Issues Urgent 'Appeal' for Aid *[TANJUG]* 27
UN Embargo Causes 'Substantial Disturbances' *[BORBA 14 Sep]* 28
Price Increases Hit Belgrade Shoppers *[AFP]* 28

Serbia

Oil Director: Homes Will Be Heated This Winter *[Belgrade Radio]* 28
Milosevic: Serbs Not Fighting for Borders *[POLITIKA 30 Aug]* 28

International Affairs

The UN General Assembly decided that "the representatives of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia be denied to participate in the work of the Assembly," TANJUG reports. Following the vote, Yugoslav Prime Minister Milan Panic submitted an application from the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia for membership in the United Nations, and he "expressed the conviction" that Yugoslavia "fulfilled conditions for UN membership at least as much as numerous other UN member-countries." Panic also noted that world leaders were asking him to help end the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina, "but, not only have they not been helping him, on the contrary, they have been hindering him in his struggle against militant nationalists in FRY."

Yugoslavia

Federal—In a statement reported by TANJUG, the Yugoslav Air Force Command said that Yugoslav aircraft "are not flying over Bosnia-Hercegovina." The statement "is a denial of claims by Croatian Radio that 'two groups of aircraft from Serbia' on Tuesday morning attacked the regions of Cazin and Velika Kladusa." The statement noted that the Air Force Command "has several times invited U.N. monitors to visit airports in Yugoslavia to dispel any doubts about the alleged activities" of the Air Force.

Bosnia-Hercegovina

Sarajevo radio reports that the State Commission for the Exchange of Prisoners of War "sent a letter" to the Sarajevo command of the UNPROFOR. In the letter, the commission "agreed in principle with the aggressor's side that all camps in the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina and in so-called Yugoslavia be disbanded and closed down under the UN's auspices and under the supervision of UNPROFOR." The POW's "would be sent to other countries or liberated territories, according to the wishes of each prisoner."

Bulgaria

"Thousands" of people, including "many members of the cabinet," attended a rally in downtown Sofia called by the Union of Democratic Forces, SDS, "in defense of democracy," BTA reports. Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov, defending his cabinet's policy, stated: "We are implementing the program of democracy...the program of the SDS...and we will not allow to be deprived of this chance." Alluding to President Zhelev, Stefan Savov, leader of the Democratic Party in the SDS and National Assembly chairman, said: "We will allow no one to establish a personal regime." According to Sofia radio, "during the address by Elka Konstantinova, chairman of the Radical Democratic Party, for the first time the assembled crowd began to chant: Resign! after she had mentioned the name of President Zhelev and said that he had forgotten that he had been elected on the blue, SDS, ticket."

UN Debates, Votes on Yugoslav Expulsion

LD2309063892 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0616 GMT 23 Sep 92

["Pool" item]

[Text] United Nations, September 23 (TANJUG)—The U.N. General Assembly last night decided with 127 votes for, 6 against and 26 abstentions that the representatives of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia be denied to participate in the work of the Assembly. The resolution was rejected by Yugoslavia, along with Tanzania, Zimbabwe, Swaziland, Kenya and Zaire. The majority of the 26 countries which abstained were African and Latin American.

The vote marked the end of an extremely swift action which had started the previous Saturday [19 September], in the afternoon, when the Security Council adopted a resolution in which it urged the General Assembly to take the respective course.

At exactly 10 p.m. New York time, the seats vacated by the Yugoslav delegation were shown first on the internal TV at the U.N. headquarters and were somewhat later seen by the U.S. TV audience.

The debate in the General Assembly was itself brief. The only participants were Yugoslav Prime Minister Milan Panic and the delegates of Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina. Instead of taking part in the debate, representatives of 16 countries spent an hour and half first explaining why they would support or not the resolution and later explaining why did so or not.

Panic was not the only one to oppose the resolution. Most vocal in drawing attention to the serious flaws in the resolution were the delegates of a number of African countries—Ghana, Zimbabwe, Kenya, Botswana, Zambia and Tanzania, and delegates of Latin American countries, including Mexico and Brazil.

In his plea for the General Assembly to reject the proposed resolution, the Yugoslav prime minister spoke at length and often with much emotion about what his government had done so far and what it mean to do further to establish peace.

The first to take the floor at the General Assembly session on behalf of the sponsors of the resolution was the British delegate to the U.N. He presented the already well-known arguments in favour of the exclusion of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia from the work of the General Assembly. The chief argument was that the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which has ceased to exist, cannot be succeeded by the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The British delegate insisted that the Security Council decision again to take up the Yugoslav issue before the second half of December was very significant as an incentive to the warring sides to reach peace.

However, a whole series of African and Latin American speakers did not appear in the least convinced that there was real ground for the resolution or that the resolution would have a political impact.

Those speakers, from the delegate of Ghana to that of Mexico, described the resolution as highly arbitrary and not grounded in the U.N. Charter. They expressed the opinion that all sides involved in the Yugoslav conflicts should be treated equally. The speakers said the haste with which the resolution was being pushed through the General Assembly was doubtful, because diplomatic representatives were not given time even to consult their governments, which is something elementary in the work of the U.N. The speakers said they feared the adoption of the resolution would further aggravate matters in the Balkans. How will this be received by men who are armed and who will now conclude that they have nothing more to lose, an African ambassador asked.

Panic Submits Application for UN Membership

LD2309090592 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0719 GMT 23 Sep 92

[Text] New York, Sept 23 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Prime Minister Milan Panic submitted the application of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY) for membership in the United Nations. Panic applied for Yugoslavia's admission to the United Nations at the UN General Assembly session on Tuesday [22 September] night, after the General Assembly decided to bar FRY from participation in its work with 127 votes for, 6 against and 26 abstentions.

In his address after the adoption of the resolution, Panic expressed the conviction that FRY fulfilled conditions for UN membership at least as much as numerous other UN member-countries.

In his plea to the General Assembly to reject the resolution, Panic said the FRY Government, which has been working on establishing peace in the territories of the former Yugoslavia, had repeatedly suggested to the UN to send its monitors to FRY airports and along its borders.

The Yugoslav Government ordered an end to the support extended to those who have continued fighting in the former Yugoslav republics of Bosnia-Hercegovina and Croatia, Panic said. The FRY Army has completely withdrawn from Bosnia-Hercegovina and the UN forces' command confirmed that, Panic said. He said that most volunteers from the Republic of Serbia have also withdrawn from Bosnia-Hercegovina.

According to U.S. sources, 30,000 regular and 10,000 irregular Croatian troops are fighting in Bosnia, Panic warned.

Panic assessed as "double standard" the fact that Croatia is a member of the U.N. and is not subjected to any criticism or sanctions and he proposed that the UN

demand the withdrawal of all foreign armies and volunteers from Bosnia-Hercegovina under the threat of sanctions.

Speaking about the continuity and recognition of new states formed in the former Yugoslav territories, Panic recalled that the FRY respected all borders and laid no territorial claims to any of its neighbors.

FRY and Croatia are on their way to recognize each other, Panic said. He said FRY would recognize the state of Bosnia-Hercegovina but that it would recognize its government when all its three ethnic communities (Moslems, Serbs and Croats) agree on the republic's order and other issues.

Panic said the world leaders were requesting of him to help end the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina, but, not only have they not been helping him, on the contrary, they have been hindering him in his struggle against militant nationalists in FRY. The FRY Government alone is competent and responsible for Yugoslavia's policy and actions, Panic said.

Panic drew attention to the resolution adopted in the FRY parliament on Tuesday, which clearly expresses grave concern over UN Security Council Resolution 777 on FRY's status in the UN adopted last Saturday.

Panic asked that due attention be devoted to the Yugoslav parliament resolution, which he submitted together with his speech.

Milan Panic was not the only one who opposed Security Council Resolution 777. Delegates of a number of African countries, notably Ghana, Zimbabwe, Kenya, Botswana, Zambia and Tanzania, as well as representatives of Mexico and Brazil also pointed out the document's serious shortcomings.

Poland Expresses Support for UN Peace Program

LD2209230192 Warsaw PAP in English 2241 GMT 21 Sep 92

[Text] New York, Sept. 21—Poland's Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski on Monday [21 September] expressed support for the programme of the UN secretary-general to consolidate the UN peaceful performance by setting up permanent forces composed of contingents put at the disposal of the organization by its member states. Poland will be able to place its contingent at the disposal of the United Nations next year, the minister declared.

Skubiszewski also supported the proposal to earmark 0.5 per cent of national defence budgets of UN member states to this end. In his opinion, the UN permanent forces may be used in other than peaceful missions and be helpful in introducing Security Council's resolutions as compulsory measures.

"Poland is ready to participate in talks on this subject," Skubiszewski declared while in New York where he is attending the 47th session of the UN General Assembly.

Commenting on the idea to expand the composition of the Security Council by further permanent members, Skubiszewski said this would require amendments in the UN Charter. He made it understood that Poland would be against such a move.

Referring to the French referendum on the Maastricht Treaty Skubiszewski said that Poland received its results "with relief and satisfaction."

"When the treaty of Maastricht comes in force we shall have to do with a European union which Poland will strive to join," the Polish minister said. He added that he could see no alternative for Europe but a political, economic and monetary union.

"The European Union is very important for us, for our future as a state and a nation," Skubiszewski said.

Karadzic Assesses Progress of Geneva Talks

AU2209201292 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 22 Sep 92

[Interview with Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, by Branka Kerkez in Geneva; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Karadzic] The assessments are that the leadership of the conference has opted for the moves that are possible, for the moves that can be carried out in practice. This primarily refers to humanitarian matters, matters concerning the end of the war, and then, political issues, issues concerning the constitutional organization of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

As regards humanitarian matters, we made our contribution and accepted everything that can be accepted. As regards the end of the war, I am not exactly a great optimist. The Muslim side does not want a cease-fire. It is difficult to talk through mediators. However, my view is that the Croatian side would be ready for a cease-fire.

As regards constitutional changes, it appears that all sides are sticking to their own positions.

[Kerkez] Could you tell us about the reasons for your departure? Is there a special reason?

[Karadzic] There is not. The conference is now taking a calmer course. It is working on the details. A fairly high-level delegation is staying here. Professors Koljevic and Buha are staying here. We will occasionally join them. Professor Buha and Professor Koljevic will also occasionally leave. Some other of our representatives will come here, too. These will be lawyers and other experts. This process will last a fairly long time.

[Kerkez] So, Chairman Athisaari has decided to accomplish what he has promised he will do, namely that the negotiations in Geneva will last until a final solution has been found.

[Karadzic] I think that this is better than to make the negotiations dependent on a cease-fire, since a side that does not want the conference would violate any cease-fire, thus stopping the conference.

[Kerkez] You had many, so to speak, unofficial meetings here, that is to say, meetings with people who are not officials at the conference. There were rumors among the journalists that you met the new U.S. ambassador to Sarajevo.

[Karadzic] Yes, we met briefly and informally in order to get acquainted with each other. We also met the charge d'affairs of the German Embassy. The ambassador was not here. We also met the Russian ambassador and the French ambassador. We also had private contacts, that is to say, informal contacts with Vance, Owen, and (?Ockun). Diplomatic contacts were fairly intensive here.

[Kerkez] Could you tell us something about the talks you held with the diplomats. They were more or less unofficial, but there must have been something there that is....

[Karadzic] They were very useful for the simple reason that many of them did not understand at all the essence of the conflict in Bosnia-Hercegovina, especially the essence of the Serbian position. We did a lot on this, and the job of the diplomatic service of the Serbian Republic and, above all, of Minister Buha will be to acquaint the world, especially relevant factions, with the contentious issues, with the demands of the Serbian side.

Kosovo President Briefs Press on Geneva Conference

AU2309073692 Zofingen RILINDJA in Albanian 18 Sep 92 p 3

[Statement by Kosovo President Ibrahim Rugova in Geneva on 17 September]

[Text] After the visit and activities of the Kosovo Republic's official delegation in Geneva, where it presented the views of the Kosovo Albanians, we addressed Rugova and asked him what was done at the conference about the Kosovo issue. He answered:

The meeting with Gert Arens [name as published; not further identified] was a preliminary one. We talked about procedures, issues, and the prerogatives of the Kosovo group, which should be complemented with two more members. Of course, we also discussed with Mr. Arens the difficult situation in Kosovo and the fear that exists in the EC about a possible war there. We also talked about Serbia's measures against Albanian education in Kosovo.

As for the meeting with Mr. Vance and Mr. Owen and with other members of the Geneva steering committee, we discussed the possibility of a dialogue between parties to the conflict in which each side would express its own stands. Here, too, we presented the current situation in Kosovo, which is rather dangerous, and presented certain suggestions for promptly improving the situation—namely, an end to the repression, the resumption of schooling in Albanian, the demilitarization of Kosovo, and an end to the arrival of refugees, that is, not to place them in Kosovo, thus manipulating the difficult war situation. As diplomats said here, after the purges of Albanians in various institutions in Kosovo, the Serbs plan to proceed with the ethnic cleansing of Albanians, also. We demanded that UN forces come together with a CSCE mission that will soon be installed in Kosovo to prevent conflict, and of course, we presented the matter of Kosovo's status, always bearing in mind the declaration of the Kosovo people, especially our project for an independent Kosovo, neutral between Albania and Serbia, which are two interested parties. At this meeting we defended the thesis that Kosovo used to have its own status, borders, and almost all state attributes in the former Yugoslavia. I can say that this meeting was succesful and very important. The cochairmen of the Geneva conference and the other members now have a clear picture of the situation in Kosovo. Thus, this meeting was a preliminary one and provides an outline for future efforts by the Kosovo group to resolve the Kosovo issue. All this results from the decisions made at the London conference at which it was also stipulated that the matter of self-determination does not pertain only to Yugoslavia. All this will be further developed and elaborated during the conference, which will last several months. We should prepare more thoroughly for this conference, bringing in experts in various fields, including foreign experts.

The main thing is that this group has been established, and now it is up to us to ensure that our work is succesful.

The Albanians from Macedonia and Montenegro were also in Geneva. We think that the Albanians from Presevo, Bujanovac, and Medvedja should also be included. They presented their own problems and views, but we presented them ourselves at previous meetings. Mr. Vance and Mr. Owen are very well informed about the difficult position of Albanians in the former Yugoslavia, and they expressed their views about a possible solution.

Helsinki Chairman Resigns Without Explanation

AU1809165392 Tirana ATA in English 1002 GMT 18 Sep 92

["Crisis in the Albanian Committee of Helsinki"—ATA Headline]

[Text] Tirana, September 18 (ATA)—These days, the chairman of the Albanian Committee of Helsinki, Mr. Arben Puto resigned without making public the reason which led him to such an act. The Albanian Committee of Helsinki was set up at the dawn of the democratic processes in Albania by some intellectuals to support the democratic processes and as such, it was recognized by the International Leading Committee of Helsinki. But at that time not all political prisoners were released, hence the voice of the persecuted was not felt in the Albanian Committee of Helsinki. Because of frequent charges in the press on the part of the association of the ex-political prisoners and persecuted, there are fierce polemics in the fold of this committee. After the resignation of Mr. Puto, Fatos Lubonja, a former political prisoner because of the failure in the communist career of his father, is now self-styled chairman of this committee. The crisis this committee is suffering for some time now will perhaps make possible its reorganization on new basis.

Swiss Delegation Arrives; To Sign Agreement

AU2209123192 Tirana ATA in English 0821 GMT 22 Sep 92

[Text] Tirana, September 22 (ATA)—On September 21 a delegation of Swiss Confederation headed by Silvio Arjoli, government representative for trade agreements arrived in Albania. Members of the delegation are 72 representatives of different sectors of economy, who will sign a bilateral agreement to encourage and protect Swiss investments in Albania.

The leader of the Swiss Government delegation, Silvio Arjoli gave the following statement to the ATA correspondent: "The agreement we will sign with the Albanian party for encouraging and protecting Swiss investments in Albania shows the great concern of Swiss investors in Albania. In our opinion Albania has great economic potentials, in the first place regarding the raw materials and agricultural products. But the operation of Albanian economy is indispensable for withdrawing foreign investments in your country. Besides the employment of new able bodied forces, of importance to foreign investors is also the creation of a necessary infrastructure, particularly in the field of telecommunication, completion of legislation etc. Areas of interest we can make investments in your country are chemical industry, pharmaceutical one, mechanical industry, agriculture, etc. The agreement is the first step which will create conditions for other steps in the future due to the improvement of legislation for investments".

European Union Accepts Democratic Party Observer

AU2209202492 Tirana ATA in English 1701 GMT 21 Sep 92

[Excerpt] Tirana, September 21 (ATA)—The Democratic Party's admission as permanent observer in the European Democratic Union and the admission of the Social Democratic Party of Albania as consultant member to the Socialist International make up a support for the democratic forces in Albania at a significant moment on consolidating democracy.

This is how the chairman of the Democratic Party, Eduard Selami, communicated this decision.

In television interview he aired his gratitude and satisfaction that two forces, emerging from the anticommunist fronts which toppled the totalitarian dictatorship, found this merited place they deserve. [passage omitted]

Berisha Views 'Opening' of Foreign Policy

AU2309081292 Tirana RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE in Albanian 25 Aug 92 p 1, 2

[Speech by President Sali Berisha to government and Army cadres: "Policy of Reducing Tension, Dialogue, and Understanding"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Our foreign policy serves national interests, the reform, the integration of Albania into Europe, and the construction of a democratic society. Our peninsula is inhabited by people who, with their culture, creativity, and minds, transformed these territories into cradles of European civilization. However, our peninsula is unfortunately also filled with chauvinistic atavisms, regressive attitudes, and great dramas. Today in Bosnia, as nowhere else in the world, concentration camps exist; innocent children, women, and men are being murdered every day as a result of chauvinistic Serbian policy. It is a matter for the honor and duty of all the political forces and governments of the Balkans to adopt a policy to prevent the conflict from spreading and help to extinguish it where it exists. It is their duty to ensure peace and stability, because they are vital both for the Albanians and other peoples.

Our policy aims at reducing tensions and establishing dialogue and understanding. We and all the Albanian political forces in the Balkans are and will continue to be in favor of peacefully solving the contradictions, disagreements, and the existing problems. In this framework, we are holding meetings and continuous dialogues with our neighbors, the EC countries, and the United States. We appreciate and highly assess the great assistance that the EC countries in general and Italy in particular have given to Albania during this period. We are also grateful to the United States, Turkey, and other countries for the political and economic support they have rendered us. This contribution has been of extraordinary importance for the victory and consolidation of democracy in our country. We appreciate and highly

assess the efforts of the EC, the CSCE, and the UN to solve the crisis in former Yugoslavia. The conference on the former Yugoslavia will soon convene in London. The Albanian Government is going there determined to present its contribution in solving the complex problems it is confronted with. We are very interested in reaching a permanent and acceptable solution. After the Bosnians, the conflict threatens the Albanians more than anyone else. Albania does not demand any change of borders, but only a solution respecting the national and human rights of Albanians in the former Yugoslavia, which, according to Helsinki principles, implies the right to self-determination.

For us, the Federation created by Milosevic bears in itself the crisis and the conflict that broke up the previous federation, because it is obvious to everyone that the crisis of federative Yugoslavia started in Kosovo, and from there it spread to other regions. That is why we hope and believe that the London conference will find solutions that do not threaten and sacrifice the interests of any people. We are determined to render our contribution in this direction. For this reason we have supported and are supporting the independence of the Macedonian state. We received Mr. Panic in Tirana. People may have objected to Panic's visit to Tirana and cast doubts as to the nature of the visit, whether private or otherwise. In these cases, the nature of the visit is of very little importance to me. I consider it a dialogue, and I want to make it clear to everyone that the diplomacy of isolation and negation is gone forever. This will be substituted by the diplomacy of dialogue and of specific steps to achieve understanding and Albania's opening to the outside world. This is not because we are not defending our national interests, but because we are convinced that we are defending and will defend them better this way. History shows that the developed countries that followed this way did not lose, but strengthened their national identity.

Our relations with Turkey are friendly.

We have made and are making continuous efforts to consider Greece not only as a good neighbor, but as a natural friend, and we have made positive steps. The Greek minority in Albania presently enjoys full rights. We have made progress concerning the Cam problem, and I am deeply convinced that all problems existing between the two countries could and should be solved in a spirit of understanding. I want to assert that Mr. Mitsotakis is of the same opinion. However, I say that the Mitsotakis government should intervene against the chauvinistic tendency of several anti-Albanian circles in Greece, which have launched a strong campaign to hellenize the south of Albania by changing people's names and religions. All this is done by abusing Albania's great poverty of resources. I also think that the activity of several organizations acting in Greece, such as that in Himare, etc., should be suspended. If these organizations were until recently considered to be anti-communist, their present activity indicates that they are anti-Albanian.

A weight lifter from Himare won a gold medal in the Olympic Games. We were all very pleased, though he went there as a sportsman representing a Greek club. The mayor of Athens and some Greek ministers, instead of inviting the mayor of Vlore to celebrate the victory of this person from Himare, declared there that Pirro Dhima [the weight lifter] comes from unliberated lands, thus revealing their primitive chauvinism. We tell them and all those who stand behind them that there is not an inch of foreign land in Albania; that they should not take advantage of the present difficulties, that their thousand-year-old neighbor is facing, because Albanians will know how to defend their freedom and country under all circumstances; and that they should be careful because their chauvinistic dreams may cost them dearly.

However, I am confident that the democratic forces in the government, institutions, and bosom of the Greek people will appreciate and value the friendship with Albanians as something valuable for them. We will uninterruptedly work for this.

We Albanians love and honor guests more than anyone else. This a great and precious virtue. Let us use this virtue to make as many friends as possible.

SDS Rally Supports Government Against Zhelev

AU2309071292 Sofia BTA in English 2024 GMT 22 Sep 92

[Text] Sofia, September 22 (BTA)—A many thousands strong rally of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) this evening chanted "Resignation" and "Traitor," referring to SDS-nominated President Zhelyu Zhelev. Despite the pouring rain, scores of thousands of Sofianites gathered in one of the squares in downtown Sofia to attend the rally called by the SDS "in defence of democracy."

Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov was the first to speak. He defended the policy of his cabinet and, referring to the attacks against the cabinet, said: "We are implementing the programme of democracy, this is the programme of the SDS.... We are determined to implement this programme and we will not allow to be deprived of this chance." "We are with you," the SDS supporters chanted during the prime minister's speech.

We have a conflict with the president, said Mr. Stefan Savov, leader of the Democratic Party in the SDS and chairman of the National Assembly. We will allow no one to establish a personal regime, we will not allow those seeking powers denied them in the Constitution to acquire them through establishing military cabinets and through laying their hands on the intelligence services, Mr. Savov said, alluding to President Zhelev.

Referring to his resignation from the post of National Assembly chairman, demanded by the Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS), Mr. Savov said that "someone has manipulated" the leaders of the DPS, and added that the SDS knows a lot of details which it cannot make public yet. "I hope that these leaders of the DPS will return to their former stand and will regret what they did because a party representing an ethnic or religious minority which we have always defended does not have the right and should not decide the fate of Bulgaria. It should join our coalition and we should walk side by side on the road to Bulgaria's democratization, just like we did so far," Mr. Savov said.

The rally interrupted the next speaker, Mrs. Elka Konstantinova, chairman of the Radical Democratic Party, just when she was saying that the president was misled and that he had "forgotten his vows," with chants demanding the president's "resignation" and calling him "traitor."

The rally was also attended by many members of the cabinet. The participants in the rally chanted the name of Interior Minister Yordan Sokolov and applauded him during his speech. After the rally a group of its participants started for the Presidency where they once again chanted "Resignation."

Speakers Criticize Zhelev

AU2209203992 Sofia Khristo Botev Radio Network in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 22 Sep 92

[Text] We are determined to govern this country, Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov confirmed at a rally of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] held in Sofia this evening.

In his speech, National Assembly Chairman Stefan Savov expressed the hope that the conflict between the president and the SDS would be settled through the common sense that the SDS expects from Mr. Zhelev. Concerning the actions of the parliamentary group of the Rights and Freedoms Movement [DPS], Savov declared that a party representing an ethnic and religious minority is not entitled to decide the fate of our country and should not do so. He later added that his words were not due to bad feelings toward the Turks, Muslims, and DPS members, but rather the result of disagreement with the policies of the DPS leadership.

During the address by Elka Konstantinova, chairman of the Radical Democratic Party, for the first time the assembled crowd began to chant: Resign! after she had mentioned the name of President Zhelev and said that he had forgotten that he had been elected on the blue [SDS] ticket. No one has the right to sow dissension and set one person against another within the SDS, Konstantinova declared.

Two main points stirred the crowd during the speech by Aleksandur Yordanov, leader of the SDS parliamentary group. He demanded forcefully that President Zhelev appear on radio and television tomorrow and state that he supports the government and the speaker of parliament. We offer our hand to the DPS so that we can work together for democracy in Bulgaria, and we expect an answer from them tomorrow morning, he said.

In his speech Ventseslav Dimitrov, deputy chairman of the United Democratic Center, again defended the government's financial policy and declared that he disagreed with the views of his colleagues who want the SDS to go into opposition.

SDS Conference Fails To Resolve Differences

AU2309102592 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 21 Sep 92 p 6

[Boyko Nikolov commentary: "Dialogue Will Be Conducted From Position of Strength"]

[Text] Subjected to a series of strong attacks from outside—ranging from the demand for the resignations of Stefan Savov and Filip Dimitrov submitted by the DPS [Rights and Freedoms Movement], the ally of the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces], to the "clashes" with the trade unions and Presidency—and driven by many internal contradictions, such as the wide divergence in views, ranging from those of the United Democratic Center through the Democratic Party and the

Radical Democratic Party to the Alternative Social Liberal Party, which is not to be underestimated, the SDS coalition gathered last weekend for its important political conference and adopted a final declaration.

The declaration contains an interesting inconsistency: The unswerving support for Filip Dimitrov's government is accompanied by an invitation to all democratic forces, the DPS included, to engage in a broad dialogue. In other words, the SDS would hold talks, but from a position of strength becaus the final declaration also discloses what stand the coalition would take in the event of these talks failing. It was unambiguously declared that the coalition's representatives in parliament would go into opposition. In a certain sense, this would be equivalent to a parliamentary crisis or, in the best (or rather, worst) event, a dangerous exacerbation of the contradictions in society.

The logic of the arguments in this direction leads to the conclusion that the "stalemate situation" in the possible future dialogue will bring about a new government—either a "caretaker" one (a cabinet headed by Dimitur Ludzhev has already been proposed more than once), or a coalition composed of members of the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] and DPS. The logic in favor of the latter alternative is completely divorced from the real political situation. The logic that conforms to the real situation gives preference to the first alternative. However, a "caretaker" government would be unlikely to be "effective" if the SDS parliamentary group goes in mass into a united opposition. Moreover, the small vestiges of stability that our country possesses in its own eyes and the eyes of the international institutions will be "quietly" dissipated, with all the negative consequences.

If to all this one adds the support of the SDS supporters (who, although the findings of the various opinion polls differ, still form at least one-third of the electorate), we obtain an impression of why the SDS coalition, at a particularly difficult moment for it, can permit itself the "luxury" of proposing a dialogue from its position of strength.

This more or less "internal party" and "internal political" problem does, however, also possess its national dimensions that cannot and should not be disregarded. Bulgaria has entered a delicate stage in the transition, when factors with negative material and intellectual effects (unemployment, a living standard far below any poverty threshold, deprivation among certain social groups, and so on) are exerting an increasingly strong influence. If one adds to this the deepening political contradictions that lead to instability and loss of control, especially during the initial period of privatization, the period of transition will be infinitely prolonged, becoming insufferable for many, and will have long-term negative consequences for everyone, both the "victors" and the "vanquished," but most of all for the ordinary Bulgarians.

Many observers have noted that the keynote in the SDS final declaration is the intention to conduct a dialogue. If, however, this dialogue becomes a "conversation between deaf men" and produces no positive result, an extremely undesirable situation will be produced, no matter what reasons are given and who is blamed for the failure of the dialogue. The conduct of the third parliamentary force [the BSP] should arouse perplexity among its supporters, at the very least in the moral plane because it seems to have "sunk down" in an attitude of waiting for political dividends. At the time of the most lively political commentaries, the BSP neither stated whether it wanted early parliamentary elections, nor adopted any stance on specific problems. The only sign of its presence, or absence, were repetitions of the call for Filip Dimitrov's cabinet and Stefan Savov to resign that were perhaps aimed at producing a hasty reaction on their party, i.e. to cause them to lose their nerve and submit their resignations themselves.

In other words, it is perhaps difficult to claim that the SDS political conference led to any denouement in the dramatic events that shook Bulgarian political life at the end of last week. Unfortunately, we may expect such a denouement at the earliest this week, and perhaps even later, but certainly not in a month's time or longer. Time is inexorably pressing upon us—the politicians, financial institutions, and ordinary Bulgarians, most of whom are hoping that the winter or the cold snaps, with their central heating bills, will arrive a little later this year.

'Sharp Exchanges' Reported at SDS Meeting

AU2209203592 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1630 GMT 22 Sep 92

[Text] At its meeting today, the parliamentary group of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] did not discuss the issue of whether, in the event of the early removal of National Assembly Chairman Stefan Savov, it would propose a new candidate to replace him. The political declaration of the SDS conference of 19 September states that the SDS will not propose a candidate. The SDS parliamentary group will meet again tomorrow, before the start of the National Assembly session.

At the regular SDS news briefing today it was announced that the SDS National Coordinating Council has confirmed its position as expressed in the political declaration of 19 September. According to a well-informed source, there were sharp exchanges at the council session, as a result of which National Assembly Chairman Stefan Savov stated that he would submit his resignation in the afternoon. According to the political declaration, he was not supposed to do this.

In connection with the statement by Ani Kruleva, head of the National Investigation Service, Aleksandur Yordanov, leader of the SDS parliamentary group, made the following comment:

[Begin recording] The problem that was raised at the SDS national political conference concerned openness,

and we are grateful that the National Investigation Service has shed some light on this problem. However, the shedding of this light should not be at the expense of the confidentiality of the investigation, something that may indeed be cause for alarm. [end recording]

SDS Leaders Criticize Zhelev for Delaying Talks

AU2209162192 Sofia BTA in English 1515 GMT 22 Sep 92

[Text] Sofia, September 22 (BTA)—At a meeting today the National Coordinating Council of the ruling Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) expressed the view that the delay of talks by President Zhelyu Zhelev and the ethnic Turks' Movement for Rights and Freedoms is actually a kind refusal, the press learned from SDS Chief Secretary Ivan Kurtev. According to him, "the point is to hold the talks as soon as possible, it is no use taking a wait-and-see attitude."

SDS leaders today criticized the president for delaying the talks. "It is strange that after all his talk about dialogue, understanding and national consensus, the president has not started a dialogue with us so far," SDS spokesman Mikhail Nedelchev told a news conference.

Asked whether parliamentary elections are likely to be held soon, Aleksandur Yordanov, deputy chairman of the National Coordinating Council and SDS floor leader, said that the SDS will not agree on a compromise about the government. "The question is if there is a majority in parliament to support the SDS cabinet's policy because we will not change our policy," Mr. Yordanov said. He announced that the SDS National Coordinating Council has elected today Ivan Kurtev, leader of the SDS-affiliated Social Democratic Party, chairman of the SDS Central Electoral Club. The ruling coalition has not stated yet whether this was done in preparation for new elections. However, some delegates to the SDS political conference last week said that if early parliamentary elections were held, there must be a presidential election too. In a letter to the conference, Vice President Blaga Dimitrova expressed her firm support for the SDS and the cabinet.

'Political Crisis' Reviewed; BSP, DPS Contacts

AU2209173792 Sofia BTA in English 1701 GMT 22 Sep 92

[Commentary by BTA's Iva Toncheva: "Denouement of Political Crisis in Bulgaria Expected Tomorrow"]

[Text] Sofia, September 22 (BTA)—The denouement of the political crisis in Bulgaria is expected tomorrow.

Tomorrow parliament will vote on the motion of no-confidence in National Assembly Chairman Stefan Savov submitted by the MP's [members of parliament] of the ethnic Turks' Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS) and MP's of the formerly communist Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP). DPS spokesman Yunal Lyutfi said that the movement intends to demand the resignation of Filip Dimitrov as well. The Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) and its cabinet were severely criticized by President Zhelev already at the end of August. The ruling coalition declared that it would not yield to pressure and expressed full support for Stefan Savov. At its political conference held at the end of last week the SDS also expressed full support for the cabinet and for Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov himself.

If parliament passes a vote of no-confidence in Stefan Savov and Filip Dimitrov, the SDS will not make other nominations for National Assembly chairman and prime minister. "If necessary we will opt for new elections," SDS members say. But there are also opinions that the SDS should remain as an opposition force in parliament. However, the political conference also left some loopholes for compromises. Two contact groups were set up for talks with the president and with the leadership of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms.

On Sunday [20 September] the president refused to meet the representatives of the SDS, saying that it was a holiday. Yesterday too he did not receive the representatives of the SDS because of previous appointments. He asked to be shown the full texts of the statements made by the participants in the political conference of the SDS. By this afternoon there was no meeting between the president and the SDS. However, today the president received representatives of the Socialist Youth Union. Zhelyu Zhelev, the founder and the first leader of the SDS, is now actually supported by the Socialists. At a press conference of the Socialists their leader, Mr. Zhan Videnov, declared support for Zhelyu Zhelev, though, as he put it, the president had not dared ask for it officially.

Representatives of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms had unofficial meetings with the SDS. But no negotiations were held yesterday. According to the statements made by DPS leaders so far, the hardliners have taken the upper hand in the coalition. The DPS insists on the resignation of Stefan Savov. The DPS is also repeatedly making declarations that it will also demand a vote of no-confidence in Filip Dimitrov. There will be no negotiations with the SDS today, DPS spokesman Yunal Lyutfi told BTA. The leadership of the DPS has not chosen its envoys yet. At a joint session, the top leadership of the DPS and its MP's will discuss the stand of the DPS at its negotiations with the SDS. In the meantime the DPS is holding meetings with representatives of the Socialist Party. There were contacts between the BSP and the DPS last week and at the beginning of this week too, Socialist leader Zhan Videnov "admitted" at the regular press conference of the BSP today. According to him, the DPS and the Socialists hold identical views on the critical nature of the present situation. Only their aims differ. The BSP intends to continue its "sounding out" meetings with leaders of the movement. Today Zhan Videnov will request an official meeting with DPS leader Ahmed Dogan.

The former Communists, who were ousted from power at the parliamentary elections held in October 1991, are not impartial to the present political crisis. At a special session today they will discuss their conduct in the next few days. They expect that a vote of no-confidence will be passed on Stefan Savov tomorrow. They intend to include their representatives in the leaderships of the parliamentary committees, something they refused to do last year. The Socialists intend to request the president to relieve Prosecutor General Ivan Tatarchev of his post. It is as yet unknown whether the Socialists will succeed in drawing dividends from the present political crisis in Bulgaria. A compromise between the Union of Democratic Forces and the Movement for Rights and Freedoms is still possible.

BSP Plenum Adopts Declaration, Resolutions

AU2309083792 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 22 Sep 92

[Text] The Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] and BSP National Assembly deputies held a joint plenum today. BSP leader Zhan Videnov made an analysis of the present political situation. Following lengthy debates, the plenum adopted a declaration entitled: Democracy Is Really in Danger. The participants in the session passed the following resolutions by ballot:

The BSP Supreme Council instructs the BSP Executive Bureau and leadership of the BSP parliamentary group to establish political contacts in line with the party's declared positions, including with parties whose stance the BSP does not share.

The BSP parliamentary union is instructed to carry out the necessary parliamentary actions to fulfill the political tasks noted in the declaration.

The plenum recommends the BSP municipal councils help in explaining the situation and in establishing the necessary political contacts at the local level.

The plenum also adopted a declaration in connection with the application by Chief Prosecutor Ivan Tatarchev to strip National Assembly Deputy Dimitur Velev Dimitrov of his parliamentary immunity.

Kozloduy Reactor Fire Extinguished 'Immediately'

AU2209163792 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 22 Sep 92

[Text] At 1400 hours today a fire broke out in the switching-off unit [uzklyuchvashti blok] of the 1,000-Megawatt generator of the No. 6 reactor generating unit at the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant. The fire was caused by a short circuit. At the moment, the No. 6 unit is undergoing final testing prior to a 72-hour running test. The fire was put out immediately, and repair and restoration work is in progress. There is no change in the radiation situation.

Second Fire Reported

AU2309103292 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 23 Sep 92

[Text] At 0200 on 22 September, 12 hours after yesterday's fire in the No. 6 reactor unit of the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant, a similar incident occurred in the No. 5 generating unit. As a result of a short circuit in the standby electrical supply section of the machinery hall, an installation caught fire. A few flames appeared, but were immediately extinguished by the operating staff, and the damage caused by the fire was repaired, BTA reports.

An operating staff group has been set up that, jointly with the Committee for Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy, is monitoring and fully controlling the situation in the two generating units. The cause of yesterday's incident in the No. 6 unit at the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant lay outside the reactor unit, the commission set up for the inquiry announced. Our correspondent Veselin Angelov provides the following additional information:

[Begin recording] According to Engineer Yordan Yordanov, spokesman of the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant, who is in charge of the Nuclear Safety Department, the special commission has reached preliminary findings that the incident is below the zero level according to the approved international scale, meaning that there are no effects on the environment. The commission's second conclusion is that the reason lies in the equipment. In fact, the incident took place inside the generator in the turbine hall, not in the actual reactor section. A faulty switch caused a short circuit and the unit that is being prepared for continuous operation following overhaul under guarantee made an emergency disconnection. [end recording]

Foreign Minister on Czech-Slovak Cooperation

LD2209200692 Prague CSTK in English 1952 GMT 22 Sep 92

[Text] Washington Sept 22 (CSTK)—While two new states are being created, this still does not mean that cooperation between them will cease to exist. It will only be formed on a new basis, said Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jozef Moravcik during a press conference in Washington today.

Moravcik expressed the wish that new forms of cooperation take place on the level of European Community structures. He listed among these the endeavour to retain a customs union between Slovakia and the Czech lands. According to Moravcik, close ties ought to be retained in currency and defence matters and a system ought to be worked out so that citizens of one state are not treated as foreigners by the other state.

Moravcik further expressed the conviction that the division ought to take place along peaceful and democratic lines and not upset the stability of Central Europe. He stated that the Foreign Ministry was taking diplomatic steps to safeguard this process.

Moravcik said George Bush's proposal to create a free-trade zone between the United States and the states of Central and Eastern Europe, made during a September 10 speech in Detroit, could contribute to the completion of the transition of these countries to a market economy.

Answering a question from CSTK, the foreign minister said that the United States and Canada are among the countries where representative offices of the Slovak Republic will open after January 1 of next year.

Devaty Discusses Work of Federal Security Service

AU2209204292 Prague CSTK in English 1507 GMT 21 Sep 92

[Text] Prague Sep 21 (CSTK)—The cabinet of former Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa did not practically react to information from the Federal Information and Security Service (FBIS)... but the situation has changed with the appointment of a new government headed by Jan Strasky, Stanislav Devaty says in an interview published by MLADA FRONTA DNES today.

The government of Calfa (Civic Democratic Union) was replaced July 2 by that of Strasky (ODS—Civic Democratic Party) following the June parliamentary elections.

The FBIS should cease to exist by the end of the year under a law of the Federal Assembly (parliament). In fact it will be transformed into independent counterintelligence services of the Czech and Slovak Republics as the Federation will split.

Devaty, FBIS deputy director, says the FBIS was not given any task from the previous (Calfa's government). But it is not true that the counterintelligence service did not supply government officials any important information.

Asked whether the FBIS gathered information on the political opposition, Devaty says he knows nothing about this. The FBIS is a service of this state. It does not know the term political opposition. As far as I know, the FBIS centre and Czech branch offices of the service have dealt exclusively with demonstrations of extremism by some individuals and groups which were clearly anti-constitutional.

The FBIS is no masked state police (StB) of the former communist regime. The state police was a police body enjoying all executive powers, especially the power to carry out investigations, and it was not subject to any control. The FBIS on the other hand is a purely intelligence institution whose activity is defined by law and controlled by a parliamentary body (commission), Devaty says.

The state police was an integral part of the Interior Ministry... but the FBIS is an independent institution, Devaty points out and rejects fears that the FBIS might gradually control the whole state administration like the StB.

This is not possible also because the FBIS has hundreds of staffers, not thousands as the StB had.

In another part of the interview, Devaty says he cannot rule out that the Slovak Government has already built up its own security service independently of the FBIS.

The Slovak Government has already created a certain core of its own intelligence service within the Interior Ministry. It is true that it is active in the economic area, but the methods of intelligence work in this area or in other spheres of public life do not differ much. I only want to stress that this branch was created already under the former Slovak Premier Jan Carnogursky, Devaty says.

Carnogursky (KDH—Christian Democratic Movement) was Slovak premier from April 1991 until June 1992 when he was replaced in consequence of the parliamentary elections by Vladimir Meciar (HZDS—Movement For a Democratic Slovakia).

New FIS Director Explains Partition of Service

AU2109121392 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 12 Sep 92 pp 1, 23

[Exclusive interview with Pavol Slovak, director of the Federal Security Information Service, FIS, by Katerina Perknerova; place and date not given: "I Have No Reports on FIS Having Spied on Opposition Politicians"]

[Excerpts] Following the last talks between chairmen and political representatives of the Civic Democratic Party [ODS] and the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia

[HZDS] in Brno, the skirmish over the staffing of the Federal Security Information Service [FIS] direction was settled. On 1 September, at the recommendation of the HZDS, 48-year-old Colonel Pavol Slovak, LL.B., until then the head of the Slovak Police Corps District Command in Cadca, became FIS director. Immediately upon assuming office, he declared that as long as he was the FIS director he would not allow the service to become the ministry of fear. As the only newspaper reporter so far, I spoke with him about his appointment and the immediate tasks of the FIS.

[Perknerova] In your opinion, why did V. Meciar consider it so important for the post of FIS director to be occupied by a Slovak national?

[Slovak] I believe that what is at issue is the fair division of real and movable property between the successors after the FIS is abolished. I believe this is the only reason that the HZDS chairman insisted on this change. There were neither personal nor political reasons.

[Perknerova] Are you of the opinion that the former FIS Director Bacinsky or his deputy Palko would not be able to fulfill this task?

[Slovak] I can hardly judge whether they would fulfill the task. As far as I have acquainted myself with Mr. Bacinsky's work, I believe that he would manage the job just as responsibly as myself. I do not know Mr. Palko personally, so I cannot comment on his qualities and performance.

[Perknerova] Nevertheless, precisely Stefan Bacinsky had become the bone of contention. The HZDS chairman emphatically insisted on his recall. There has been speculation that the reason for Meciar's stand was the politicization of the FIS under Bacinsky's supervision, registration of, and even monitoring of the activities of the opposition parties and politicians, including V. Meciar.

[Slovak] I reckon that these problems are assessed in a rather biased and inequitable manner. The jurisdiction of the FIS is precisely defined in Law 244 of 1991. Article 2 clearly specifies the rights and duties of the FIS. I have no reports on the FIS having spied on opposition officials. On the contrary, as the director of the FIS, I arrived at the conclusion that the FIS employees always followed the provisions of the law to the letter. After all, any transgression of their powers could be subject to legal prosecution.

[Perknerova] The problem is that the Article 2 you mentioned is phrased very vaguely for, according to this article, the subject of FIS interest may be an "activity against the state's security" without any further specification. Was it not an automatic duty of the FIS to shadow the potential conspirators named by some deputies who spoke about the danger of a leftist coup?

[Slovak] There were only unfounded rumors of a leftist coup danger in Czechoslovakia. Nobody confirmed these rumors, and the FIS has not even checked into this case. The whole issue arose from an expressive statement by one of the deputies that was subsequently reflected in emotionally tinted commentaries on the situation between HZDS-ODS meetings. I believe that the FIS had no part in spreading information of that kind. [passage omitted]

Personally, I do not have the slightest indication or sign hinting to anybody authorizing the dissemination of an interpretation of Article 2 that would allow political officials to be shadowed or other illegal actions. The FIS is, above all, oriented to threats to the state from outside, to the dangers arising in the framework of the development of democracy and political transition in the neighboring countries. Let us just recall the recent events in the FRG, the economic situation in Poland, or state of war in former Yugoslavia. Therefore the priority of the FIS is to defend the CSFR as a whole, using methods that are both legal and effective. This means that FIS is attempting to prevent any feasible political, economic, or social threat to the state on the part of any such enemy.

[Perknerova] Of course, you have become the liquidation director of the FIS, whose main task is to divide counterespionage into two sovereign services. That might take so much of your time as to reduce the FIS resources, under your control, to the point at which it would no longer be able to perform its security and intelligence mission, or am I wrong?

[Slovak] I categorically deny this possibility, assuming that the FIS will operate as an entity up to the moment specified by the law. The division of the property and financial assets will take place but it cannot at all affect the effectiveness of the FIS. Personally, I will not allow any security vacuum to form before the republic intelligence services are organized. The appropriate measures were adopted with the provision that a much closer cooperation will exist between these services than is usual between counterespionage services of two neighboring countries.

[Perknerova] So, according to you, the partition of the federation will not result in a hostile competition between counterespionage of the Czech and Slovak Republics?

[Slovak] From my point of view, it can be ruled out because the relations I developed with Mr. Devaty and the entire FIS directorate and the executive units are a guarantee of the future interconnection of the two successor security services and their wonderful cooperation. A definite surgical cut is out of the question. I am convinced that the continuity of relations and friendships must and will be preserved. [passage omitted]

[Perknerova] The worst thing is when the secret service slips out of the control mechanism, and begins to live on its own. At the moment, for instance, the Federal Assembly Commission for the Control of the FIS does not work because no chairman has been elected, and

nobody has called a meeting. Is it not possible that under the circumstances the FIS could become dangerous to the citizens?

[Slovak] The control body is currently not working but that does not have a negative impact on the operation of the FIS. After all, the FIS cannot work under the daily supervision of a parliamentary body. On the contrary, it must continue its work according to Law on the FIS. Moreover, the Commission for the Control of the FIS may retroactively request documentation on cases on which the FIS is working, and if it discovered an illegal procedure, it would certainly draw consequences. [passage omitted]

[Perknerova] One would assume that after the FIS is abolished, you will become director of the first security service of the Slovak Republic. Do you have any idea on what principles it would be organized?

[Slovak] On cannot assume anything like that. Otherwise, I could assume that I will become ambassador or president. There certainly will be a competition for the post of the first head of this service in Slovakia, and an entirely different candidate may come out victorious. Personally, I have no ambition in this respect. My task is to make certain that the division of the FIS is fair and that the continuity of the FIS in the two republics is guaranteed during as well as following the partition.

[Perknerova] You really do not have any other tasks? What do you think, for instance, of the idea that you became the head of the FIS so as to obtain all the secret-police material on Czech enterprises, and S. Devaty the same with respect to the Slovak enterprises?

[Slovak] Such reports occasionally appear, mostly in the Czech newspapers. I certainly can rebut them. I do not have any such mission, nobody has entrusted me with anything like that, I did not come to Prague with any such assignment. Simply, it is a lie.

[Perknerova] Does the same apply to your deputy, Devaty?

[Slovak] My first personal contact with Mr. Devaty was on FIS premises. Having clarified our powers, we decided who will do what, and under what circumstances. One does not interfere with the work of the other, we consult one another, help each other, and I can tell you that Mr. Devaty is a frank, honest man with a feeling for the law. That also is the answer to your question.

Havel Comments on Constitutional Issues

LD2209171592 Prague CSTK in English 1418 GMT 22 Sep 92

[Text] Prague Sept 22 (CSTK) - Former Czechoslovak president Vaclav Havel today said that the post of president as defined in preliminary drafts for the Czech constitution in essence correspond to his ideas.

Havel became Czechoslovak president for the first time on December 29, 1989, in the wake of the events which toppled the communist regime in the country. In July 1990 he was reelected for a two-year transitional period designed to bring Czechoslovakia from the totalitarian regime to democracy and market economy. He sought re-election in July 1992, but was rejected mainly by Slovak deputies. Though the constitution allowed him to hold the post until October 5, he resigned July 20.

He has been considered the only suitable candidate for the post of the president of the Czech Republic when Czechoslovakia splits as of January 1, 1993.

Speaking with CSTK and Czechoslovak radio, Havel said he would accept candidacy only if the definition of the president's status by the Czech constitution, which is now being prepared, corresponded to his ideas about the function.

He said he agrees with the draft constitution's provision for the president to be elected by both chambers of parliament (House of Representatives and Senate), while only the House of Representatives could decide about confidence in the government.

This principle embeds a difference between the political status of the president and the government, Havel said.

He also agrees with the draft constitution saying that parliament should not have the right to recall the president, and that the president would have the right to dissolve parliament in certain extreme situations.

Havel also agrees with the provision for the president's right to return, under certain circumstances, bills to parliament for renegotiation, which means the right to suspensive veto.

I have never thought that the president should have excessive powers. But I think that the president must have its independent place in the political system. Otherwise, the duties could be performed by the premier which would save money, Havel said.

Havel believes that the Czech Republic is not yet mature for its president to be a member of a political party. For some time, the president should be an integrating figure who can be connected by a looser intellectual link with a party or enjoy its support, but should not be identified with this party, Havel said.

He thinks that to postpone a decision on the territorial-administrative arrangement of the Czech Republic and on the status of Moravia until after the adoption of the Czech constitution would be dangerous.

Moravia and Silesia are seeking a provincial setup for the republic, which means that it would consist of three or four parts: Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia and maybe also Prague as an independent entity. This is opposed by the election winner, the ODS, which insists on dividing the Czech Republic into more smaller regions. Until after

the communists seized power in Czechoslovakia in 1948, Moravia had a status of a self-governing province within the Czech Republic.

Havel thinks that the question of Moravia is being turned into a political one and a weapon in the hands of ones against the others.

He also thinks the government coalition is quite reluctant to meet the Moravians' demand because this might include elements of federalism.

The experience of the past more than 20 years has shown that the federal system in Czechoslovakia has not been working well and has now been rejected.

Havel noted Czechoslovakia's declining prestige in the world and said its regaining depends on how Czechoslovakia will split.

We must show that even such a complex operation can be carried out without chaos, confusion and civic conflicts, Havel said.

Right-Wing 'Current' Established Within CSS

AU2209162892 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 18 Sep 92 p 3

["alm"-signed report: "The Liberal Club in the Czechoslovak Socialist Party Promotes Right-Wing Orientation; According to Hirs, the Czechoslovak Socialist Party Wants To Prevent the Germanization of the Czech Republic"]

[Text] Prague—"The Liberal Social Union [LSU] orients the policy of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party [CSS] not only toward cooperation with the Czechoslovak Social Democracy, but also toward the Left Bloc, the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia, and the Republicans. We do not share this mode of thinking." This was stated at the first meeting of the Liberal Club within the CSS [Liberalni klub v CSS], which was held in Prague on Wednesday [16 September]. M. Faturik, member of the leadership of the Prague organization of the Green Party, who attended the meeting as a guest, expressed disagreement with the behavior of the LSU and, to the applause of those present, said that the first step should be to recall LSU Chairman Frantisek Trnka.

Liberal Club representative V. Bodenlos declared that this club is not a faction, but a political current. He later told the RUDE PRAVO correspondent that, in his opinion, at least 50 percent of CSS members would join the Liberal Club. CSS Central Secretary Pavel Hirs was expected to deliver a keynote speech at the meeting on Wednesday, but he failed to come. When approached on 17 September, he told RUDE PRAVO that the main thesis of this speech was to be the CSS's new orientation. According to Hirs, "the CSS could be renamed the Liberal Social Party [Liberalni Socialni Strana], should the members base express the wish to change the party's name." "We want to move toward the position that we occupied during the first republic, that is, to defend the rights of tradesmen and small businessmen, civil servants, teachers, and physicians," he said.

"Defending Czech national interests does not mean that we are going to go against Slovaks. We want to prevent our territory from becoming Germanized, be it economically or ethnically," Hirs said.

According to well-informed sources, the founding of the Liberal Club is an expression of disagreements between Hirs and CSS Chairman Ladislav Dvorak and could contribute to the CSS's split into a right-wing and left-wing part and increase tensions within the LSU. The LSU comprises, in addition to the CSS, the Farmers' Party, the Green Party, and the Farmers' Movement.

Bank Official Comments on Stability of Koruna

AU2209153392 Prague METROPOLITNI TELEGRAF in Czech 19 Sep 92 p 1

[Text] Prague—The current developments involving European currencies does not directly threaten the stability of the Czechoslovak koruna, which is not directly convertible. According to Martin Svehla, Czechoslovak State Bank press spokesman, the Czechoslovak koruna will strengthen against the devalued currencies—the Spanish peseta, Italian lira, and the British pound. Moreover, prices of goods imported from these countries will drop and prices of Czechoslovak products exported to these countries will rise.

The withdrawal of the British pound from the European exchange mechanism will have no bearing on the exchange rate of the koruna, Svehla continued. On 2 January, the British pound was replaced by the French franc in the basket of currencies to which the koruna's exchange rate is pegged. The following currencies are now in this basket, in the following ratio—U.S. dollar (49.07 percent), German mark (36.15 percent), Austrian schilling (8.07 percent), Swiss franc (3.79 percent), and French franc (2.92 percent). The lowering of interest rates in the FRG will have no direct influence on the stability of the Czechoslovak currency and the Czechoslovak economy. International observers hope, however, that lower interest rate will stimulate economic recovery, which might enhance Czechoslovakia's export potentials. From the viewpoint of the exchange rate, the weakening of the mark is offset by the strengthening of the U.S. dollar against the koruna.

Conservative League Wants Property Divided 3 to 1

AU2309121592 Prague METROPOLITNI TELEGRAF in Czech 16 Sep 92 p 3

["re"-signed report: "To Halt the Division of the FIS"]

[Text] Prague—The second session of the Conservative League Presidium convened in Prague-Smichov yesterday. The session was attended by a Liberal Democratic Party representative, Emanuel Mandler. The Conservative League Presidium adopted a four-item statement, in which it states that the Conservative League was surprised by the announcement of the Czech political representation regarding the free trade zone with the United States. The Conservative League will support the creation of this zone proposed by President Bush to the utmost of its ability.

The partition of the Federal Security Information Service [FIS] currently in progress threatens, according to the Presidium, the intersts of the Czech Republic. It is important to halt this partition until the law on the Czech security service is adopted and a Czech security doctrine drafted.

Regarding the bill on dividing the property between the Czech and the Slovak Republics using the ratio two to one, the Presidium believes that it victimizes the Czech Republic. The industrialization of Slovakia, which was paid from the federal pockets, and the economic potential of the Czech Republic has caused the Conservative League to suggest the rate of three to one.

The elimination of the parenthesized phrase from Article 260, in which the Constitutional Court describes the criminality of communism and fascism by name, deeply abhorred the Conservative League, which considers it a victory for the left wing.

Dlouhy Discusses Situation at Skoda Plzen Plant

AU2209150092 Prague CSTK in English 1920 GMT 20 Sep 92

[Text] Prague Sep 20 (CSTK)—Czech Minister of Industry and Trade Vladimir Dlouhy today said the Skoda heavy engineering company will not have to stop production altogether, though it will have to do so in some of its divisions and there will also be dismissals.

Dlouhy was speaking to reporters after a meeting with the Skoda management in Plzen, West Bohemia. On Wednesday [16 September] the Skoda management announced it would have to cease production as of October 1 because of financial difficulties.

Dlouhy said the company is due to receive about 1,300 million crowns (about 46.4 million USD) for engines manufactured for the Czechoslovak Railways.

Another chance for Skoda are the planned joint ventures between Skoda and Siemens of Germany and France's Framatome, Dlouhy added.

He said Skoda also ought to make use of the reconstruction of the nuclear power plant at Temelin, South Bohemia, where Soviet-made reactors will be substituted by those having world parametres.

According to Dlouhy, the government has a number of objections to the work of Skoda's management but, he said, any personnel changes at the moment when joint ventures with foreign partners are considered would be inappropriate.

Czech Ministers Disagree on Temelin Nuclear Plant

AU2309110592 Prague CSTK in English 0939 GMT 22 Sep 92

[Text] Prague (CSTK)— Czech Minister for the Environment Frantisek Benda considers Sunday's [20 September] statement by Czech Minister of Industry and Trade Vladimir Dlouhy on the nuclear power plant Temelin, South Bohemia, in connection with the case of Skoda Plzen, which now faces big financial problems, to be a matter of personal opinion.

Dlouhy said Skoda's energy division, which has lost its markets because of the disintegration of the former Soviet bloc, should take advantage of Temelin's conversion to a modern power plant to get orders for itself.

Benda told CSTK today that the future of Temelin, where two blocks are now being built, and of nuclear energy overall will only be a matter for the entire Czech Government. The Government will soon express itself clearly on the development of nuclear power, particularly on the construction of the nuclear power plant Temelin, he said.

General Makes Report on Russian Troop Withdrawals

AU2309112792 Warsaw SIS in Polish 2033 GMT 21 Sep 92

["Communique by the Government Press Office"]

[Text] General of Brigade Zdzislaw Ostrowski, Polish Government plenipotentiary for Russian Federation forces in Poland, has conveyed to Jan Maria Rokita, head of the Office of the Council of Ministers, a report on the withdrawal of Russian forces from Poland in August.

In August, 24 Russian Federation military operations transports (96 percent of the plan) and 52 supply transports (95 percent of the plan) left Poland.

The following left our country: 945 soldiers; two anti-aircraft guns; 14 armored fighting vehicles; 782 traction, heavy goods, and special vehicles; 356 goods trailers; and about 4,000 tonnes of materiel and equipment.

Russian forces (personnel plus equipment) boarded trains at the following garrisons: Wroclaw Pracze, Legnica, Strachow, Szprotawa, Wedrzyn, Kluczewo, and Borne Sulinowo. Road convoys with supplies departed from the following garrisons: Wroclaw, Olawa, Legnica, Modla, Szprotawa, Stargard Szczecinski, Kluczewo, and Borne Sulinowo.

In August the Russians transferred to Polish authorities 804 facilities and 43,976 hectares of land; 190 of these facilities were "in temporary use" by the soldiers, whereas 614 were built using funds of the former Soviet Union.

Poland took over six [number as received] garrisons (Zimna Woda, Strachow, Wedrzyn, Krzywa, and Wschowa); two training areas were handed over in their entirety (Borne Sulinowo and Swietoszow), and one other was handed over partially (Trzebin-Przemkow).

Polish military engineers and chemical experts checked the Wilkocin, Trzebien, and Chojna garrisons, and did not discover any explosive or dangerous materials.

On 1 September there were still about 10,000 men, 63 armored fighting vehicles, three anti-aircraft units, 5,100 vehicles, four airplanes, two helicopters, and 115,000 tonnes of material (including 1,200 tonnes of ammunition) in Poland. Russian Federation forces still occupy 2,300 [number as received] facilities (1,990 of them "in temporary use" and 300 built by the Russians).

Fifty-eight operations transports (95 percent of the plan) and 219 supply transports (79 percent of the plan) transited Poland from Germany on their way to Russia.

One Russian helicopter flying over Poland violated air safety regulations and created a hazard for the crew of a yacht sailing on Orawa Lake. An investigation is underway. No breaches of the peace were noted.

In September, the Russians plan to dispatch to their country 22 operations transports (loaded onto 595 railroad wagons) and 65 supply transports (407 wagons).

Opposition Parties Form Republic Coalition

LD2109165392 Warsaw PAP in English 1638 GMT 20 Sep 92

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 20—A coalition for the Republic was formed here on Sunday [20 September] at a congress of seven parties with a view to "removing threats that are faced by Poland and building a strong democratic Polish state free from the legacy of the (communist) people's Poland," according to a declaration issued by the congress.

The coalition is composed of the Movement for the Third Republic, the Christian-Democratic Forum, the "Ojcowizna" (Patrimony) Association, Christian Democracy, the Christian Democratic Labour Party, the Christian Democratic Peasant Forum and the Polish Independence Party.

The new grouping is led by former Prime Minister Jan Olszewski, former Minister of Internal Affairs Antoni Macierewicz, former Defence Minister Jan Parys, former Deputy Defence Minister Romuald Szeremietiew and Senator Zbigniew Romaszewski, all of them from the Movement for the Third Republic, as well as Roman Bartoszcze, Przemyslaw Hniedziewicz and Tomasz Jackowski representing other parties.

The coalition declared that an indispensable condition for building the third republic is to "exchange the discredited personnel in state and economic administration" through "exposing communist agents in the state structures and removing from key posts former Communist Party (PZPR) activists who are responsible for the present disastrous condition of the state and economy."

Speaking to nearly a thousand participants in the congress Jan Olszewski announced the creation of a new political alignment within the "framework of a democratic system."

Antoni Macierewicz was enthusiastically applauded when he predicted that at its next congress, due in half a year, the coalition will represent 100,000 followers. According to him three years after the 1989 elections a political set-up has been recreated which leads to recommunisation.

Jan Parys accused the government of Hanna Suchocka of a "pro-Russian orientation" and "cryptocommunist intentions" that find no support in society. "The communist groups and those of (former) secret service have found protectors within the party that is led by Tadeusz Mazowiecki," Parys charged referring to the Democratic Union (UD).

Presidential Candidates Asked About Election Issues

President Ion Iliescu

AU1509180692

[Editorial Report] Bucharest Romania Network in Romanian at 1600 GMT on 14 September carries a 40-minute studio program entitled "Candidates for the Presidency of Romania Before the Electorate," the 12th of 18 scheduled live broadcasts with the six candidates registered for the 27 September presidential elections. Today's studio guest is incumbent President Ion Iliescu, running on behalf of the Democratic National Salvation Front [FDSN]. An unidentified announcer welcomes Iliescu to his second studio appearance and says that today's session will be entirely devoted to answering questions from listeners.

The first question deals with the electoral law stipulating penalties for insults against political leaders. Asked why he is so "lenient" about such attacks against his person, Iliescu says that "the question reflects a justified concern with the emergence of such phenomena, both in the written press and in public events." He expresses "indignation" at the fact that "Romanian National Unity Party's candidate Gheorghe Funar was physically mishandled in Timisoara today" by "demonstrators carrying banners of the Democratic Convention [CD]." Iliescu condemns such "violent methods, reminiscent of 1990 practices that did no good to their perpetrators" and the "verbal violence" practiced by part of the press. He pleads for "decent, dignified, and civilized" language in the press, but notes that the "crisis experienced by our society is also reflected in such outbursts" that have nothing to do with freedom of the press and "are proof of a lack of political culture." He also points to the "political responsibility of the political parties engaged in the electoral race to ensure the decency of all public manifestations." Regarding his alleged "excessive tolerance" of such attacks, he admits that some may see it as a "sign of weakness," but he "will not give up his calm, moderation, balance, and tolerance required for the democratic development of our society."

After stating that "in a democratic state, internal tranquillity is the most important element," a Bucharest pensioner asks Iliescu whether the "street violence of the past two years may be interpreted as a reflection of a crisis of authority." Iliescu agrees that "internal tranquillity is an important element for our democratic development and for tackling and solving the serious economic and social problems of our society," after which he proceeds to draw parallels between the evolution of recent events in Romania and the neighboring countries. He reiterates that "unlike our neighbors, we had a violent revolution accompanied by a brusque overthrow of the old structures of the authoritarian state." The subsequent period of "provisional state structures" was characterized by "many tensions, street disturbances, and conflicts, some of which were also marked by bloodshed, such as the events in Tirgu Mures or the 13-15 June events in Bucharest." Nevertheless, he considers that "in spite of all economic and social difficulties facing the country—many of which are sources of tension—even in spite of today's events in Timisoara, Romania projects the image of greater stability and balance today," while the neighboring countries, "that had a more moderate changeover period," have "steadily registered ever greater tensions and a deterioration leading even to such serious phenomena as statal dismemberment or civil war." He agrees that a "crisis of authority has resulted in Romania from the breaking up of certain state structures" in the post-revolutionary period, but he thinks the situation has improved in the meantime and "that progress has been made in this process of stabilization."

Asked about allegations made in the electoral campaign by Caius Traian Dragomir, presidential candidate of the National Salvation Front [FSN], that "if Iliescu is elected, he will take away the peasants' land," Iliescu terms such statements as "flagrant lies, indicative of ill-faith and lack of scruples and correctness." In this respect, he goes on to elaborate on the need for "further state assistance to the new land owners," stressing their right to "free association, if they so wish," in order "to cope with requirements of a modern agriculture and to stay competitive."

In answer to a question about his absence from the 29 August Senate session that set the schedule of the presidential campaign on radio and television, Iliescu says he had been tied up with certain "protocol obligations" and other appointments on that particular date.

The next question refers to pensions and discrepancies in the calculation of pensions, as related to current wages in the economy. Iliescu emphasizes the need for a "revision of the entire pension system," so that "pensioners can better cope with price increases and the shock of inflation."

Asked about the "widespread impact of corruption within Romanian society," Iliescu expresses "concern over the phenomenon of corruption that is on the increase due to hardships inherent to this transition period, such as the economic blockage, the decrease in industrial and agricultural production, inflation, unemployment, and so forth." He will not accept that "corruption is an inevitable phenomenon—as some people claim—typical of the civilized world," and says that "he is against the phenomenon as such," which should be resolutely combated through the elaboration of "better relevant legislation" and a "statute of the public servant."

Asked about the continuous need for imports of agricultural produce, Iliescu says that the imports of foodstuffs are the result of "certain commotions that have taken place in our agricultural production"; the target should

be self-sufficiency, and he hopes that Romania's agriculture will "recover its dynamism in the next two to three years."

Asked about the problem of unemployment, Iliescu expresses sincere concern over the growth of this "phenomenon of great psychological shock, specific to the period of transition" that "particularly affects young people and women." Therefore, he believes that the next government's program should provide incentives to "peak industrial branches, services, and other sectors that create jobs," along with "incentives for the private sector and the small private entrepreneurs." Iliescu hopes that "there are prospects for creating at least one million new jobs in the next four years," and urges the next Parliament and government to deal "in all earnest" with this phenomenon of "great social importance for Romanian society."

Professor Ioan Manzatu

AU1809114992

[Editorial Report] Bucharest Romania Network in Romanian at 1600 GMT on 17 September carries a 40-minute studio election program entitled "Candidates for the Presidency of Romania Before the Electorate." It is the 14th of 18 scheduled live broadcasts with the six candidates for the presidency in the 27 September elections. Today's guest is Professor Ioan Manzatu, candidate of the Republican Party (RP). He is questioned by four reporters: Tia Serbanescu of ROMANIA LIBERA; Romulus Maier of REALITATEA ROMANEASCA; Paul Dobrescu of CURIERUL NATIONAL; and Janos Gyarmath of MAGYAR SZO.

The first question is about the RP's possible alliance with other parties. Reporter Serbanescu notes that in the 20 May 1990 elections Manzatu was part of the AUR (Alliance of Romanian Unity) alliance, together with the Party of National Unity of Romanians (PUNR), whereas now Manzatu's RP and the PUNR are completely separate. She asks: "what caused this separation and is it possible there will be a new alliance, since [PUNR leader] Gheorghe Funar has said that an alliance of ROMANIA MARE, the National Liberal Party, and the Republicans is possible?" Manzatu explains how the former alliance was set up: "Since both leaders of the respective parties were Transylvanians, I thought it was better to have one single group. This was an elementary way of thinking." He says he accepted the alliance because he thought it was going to be a "correct alliance." He says he was in the United States at the time when candidates were registered, and when he returned nothing could be changed and this was "a disaster" because Republican candidates were placed fourth and fifth on the lists. "This led to my being blocked, and—why should we not say it now—there was also an electoral fraud." He says he explained what happened in an interview for VIITORUL ROMANESC and all this made him decide against entering an alliance with "the gentlemen who are PUNR members." He claims he is not familiar with Funar's statements, but he does not believe that they are correct. As far as an alliance is concerned he excludes it "for multiple reasons. Had I referred to the entire PUNR, there would be a correct prospect, but certain persons at the head of the PUNR make us extremely cautious."

Reporter Maier asks Manzatu, who was the president of the commission investigating the unrest in Tirgu Mures in March 1990, to explain his commission's conclusions. Manzatu replies: "I told Mr. Gyarmath some of the conclusions, and they appeared in MAGYAR SZO, but since the whole country is listening, I will make a few points. We should start from a situation that has never been made public and has never been broadcast on radio or television.

"My opinion is that if the FSN rulers and the provisional government led by Mr. Roman had profited from the statements of the former Hungarian foreign minister, Gyula Horn, who was in Romania on 29 December 1989 and made a few extremely strong and unexpectedly friendly statements, I believe that the interethnic situation and relations between Romania and Hungary would have been completely different. I do not know what made the Roman government or the National Salvation Front Council not disclose Mr. Horn's statements and I do not know what made the authorities and the Romanian Foreign Ministry not continue what had been started by the Hungarian foreign minister's visit to Romania immediately after the revolution. This is something that others will have to explain because I can find no explanation for it. The second thing that we should recall is that there were many signals in written form from Mures County and Tirgu Mures, warnings that arrived at the government and on President Iliescu's desk. It slowly became clear that something was wrong, passions were being stirred, and events were approaching, events that might be unpleasant or even dramatic. These warnings came from the parties based in Tirgu Mures, including the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania. I remember that one of the reports was signed by Karoly Kiraly [UDMR leadership member]. There were other reports from the Army, the police, and from people who made up the first leadership of Vatra Romaneasca, and a report signed by Dr. Olar, who is no longer with them. All these things would have given the opportunity to take the appropriate measures, to go there and take all the necessary measures to prevent any disturbances. Further examining those times—which I actually lived through—the first question I asked the Vatra and the UDMR representatives when I arrived in Tirgu Mures was when did the Army intervene to separate the conflicting sides. The answer was 36 hours after help was requested. Thus, one can draw very surprising conclusions."

Manzatu continues: "Obviously, there is one thing I can say with certainty: None of the people in the two ethnic groups at the level of the ordinary population were responsible for what happened there. That much is certain. The second thing is that one should condemn the

silence maintained by the central authorities, although it was clearly known that sentiments had been agitated by a series of factors, some domestic, others external. Then, to everybody's surprise, and mine above all, evidently, we discovered a strange fact, namely that three-four days before the most difficult day, 20 March, a very large number of reporters, radio and television reporters, both from Europe and elsewhere in the world came to Tirgu Mures. Under these conditions, what can I say, it seemed that somebody knew something was going on. If we were to reveal the documents that we sent to the Romanian Parliament," Manzatu continues, one could see that "the conflict could be divided into three categories: a conflict between agitated people for reasons they did not understand; a conflict that went out of control the moment individuals started throwing stones and pieces of wood; and, certainly, a conflict that, in my own frank opinion, was intended or expected to be a signal to certain political factors in Romania, Budapest, or the United States that the time was ready. Documents from there that show this have reached my desk as president of the investigation commission and I can show them to anyone.

"In conclusion, the Tirgu Mures phenomenon is not an isolated phenomenon in a series of scenarios and diversions. I would link it with the University Square demonstrations and the arrival of the miners in Bucharest, to be very clear. Had the Petre Roman government and the political leadership of Romania really wanted to prevent these scenarios, it would have been possible to do so. Certainly the report I sent to Parliament was incomplete. An investigation of the police, the Prosecutor's Office, and the Higher Court was in progress at that time. Most of those incriminated were incriminated as individuals who almost unanimously said that they did not know why they were fighting or why they were hit. As far as the conclusion of the report that the three parliamentarians sent to the parliament, I am completely against it because not only did it not clarify things better than the report that I submitted, but obscured things much more. My conclusion is that Tirgu Mures, just like University Square, just like 25-26 September 1991, is only a stage in a long line of scenarios that cannot be completely clarified today, but we can conclude that it was not the ethnics who were guilty. There were a series of agitated minds on each side and there were external conditions that favored these events."

Asked to comment on the statement by PUNR leader Funar that he was sure of success in the elections since "all the other candidates are actors and I am the only one who has real feeling and an organic message to put forward," Manzatu replies: "There is a matter of common sense about how you express something that you would like, but if you mix wish with reality, then things might even become dangerous. First, we considered his statements about the number of supporters as a joke." "The message that we, the candidates, carry, we carry in someone's name." Funar relies on the idea "that—as he claims—Transylvania is endangered and the message he carries is in the name of I do not know how many millions of Romanians who are in danger." But to base your program on such an idea "is an unprincipled and even childish act," Manzatu says, adding that "the lesson in Timisoara [reference to incident in Timisoara on 15 September where Gheorghe Funar was harrassed in public] should teach Mr. Funar something."

The discussion then turns to the subject of violence in the election campaign. Asked whether, in light of the recent attack in Timisoara on presidential candidate Funar, he has himself been threatened, Manzatu replies that he has encounterd "no sign of aggression or hostility" and that the people in the streets have shown a lively interest in the candidates.

Returning to the Timisoara attack he says: "I believe that you cannot go to a town that actually suffered the most during the actions to overthrow the communist dictatorship, with thoughts that hurt the feelings of those people. I believe that it was an obvious defiance of what one calls cautiousness" and "while I condemn the violent way in which this incident was provoked, it is difficult to stop people who stayed in front of the tanks and guns that wanted to erase Timisoara from the face of the earth from taking violent action when somebody turns from clear declarations to the idea of Ceausescu and to the past, saying how good that period was and mainly when that person starts attacking an ethnic minority. I also defend Romanians and Romania with all my being but it does not mean that I forget that I must fully respect all the people of this country, and I must talk about them and with them with the same human feelings with which I turn to any other citizen. Had he acted that way, nothing would have happened at Timisoara Cathedral. This is my position."

Commenting further on the incident in which Funar was attacked, Manzatu says that "I always claimed that violence is not the right way to solve problems. But since Mr. Funar allowed himself to make certain unpleasant statements about other candidates, which cannot be considered fair play, I would give him a piece of advice on this occasion; this is not the way to do what has to be done in this country."

Asked about his alleged "special relationship" with the Russian Embassy and the allegation that it told him Russian President Yeltsin's views on who should be the future Romanian president, Manzatu replies that he, personally, has no relations with the embassy. Some RP members might have contacts with certain counselors at the embassy, he says. He discloses that he received from other sources information about whether Yeltsin would favor a candidate from the opposition for the position of president, "and the answer was a categorical no. There is one single person there whom we trust."

Asked for his views on the president's role in the discussions between the Trade Union confederations and the executive power in moments of crisis, Manzatu

says that "in my view the president needs advisers who are completely different from the ones around the current president. They should be the heads of political parties, the prime minister, the presidents of the Parliamentary Chambers, trade union members, the church, the Army, and the press. The president should rely on the advice of these forces." "A president should permanently hold dialogue with these people or forces, according to a schedule, not only during crises."

Asked by the MAGYAR SZO reporter about his view that a government department for relations with the Romanian diaspora should be set up and whether this would involve interference in the affairs of other countries, Manzatu says that the diaspora consists of "all Romanians who do not live within the normal borders of the country. This principle is essential for the Republican Party." "The fact that we will support them" and "there is a continuous exchange of values and ideas, and mutual assistance, is essential for us. As a matter of fact, Hungary did the same even during communism as it was very favorable for them. Romania, on the contrary, during the communist regime, departed from all idea of connection with those who were called traitors to the country because they did not stay in Romania." He says that this connection has to be maintained on a mutual basis, thus he does not believe that it is interference in another country's affairs. Every country's support for its own ethnics, such as Greece or Germany is normal, Manzatu continues. "I believe that this should hold true in the future also for the Hungarian ethnics. I recognize that the Hungarians' support for their brothers living in Romania can be a danger, but if it is done openly and mutually, I believe it is normal and completely desirable because only in this way will the confrontation be changed into cooperation."

Asked if he believes fraud might take place during the elections, Manzatu answers: "I do not believe it, but it is possible." "It is possible to feed the computer real data and draw the wrong conclusions." He suggests that the international observers count the votes at the same time as the official counting.

Asked about his application to rejoin the Romanian Communist Party, Manzatu says that it was not a letter of application but 317 pages of a written statement describing the period when he became unemployed until he was finally accepted as a physicist. "The beginning and end of such documents were standard, the only aim was to be able to continue my teaching profession" and "not to really be accepted in the party."

Asked about his relations with Emil Constantinescu, presidential candidate of the Democratic Convention, Manzatu answers: "We have good relations such as between colleagues, relations of mutual respect. We have known each other for three years." Manzatu says he values his professional qualities and "as a politician we will see him in the last part of the electoral race when we will all be confronting each other. So our relations are absolutely normal, but they are also relations of competitors in the race for the presidency."

Professor Emil Constantinescu

AU1809184192

[Editorial Report] Bucharest Romania Network in Romanian at 1600 GMT on 18 September carries a 40-minute studio election program entitled "Candidates for the Presidency of Romania Before the Electorate," the 15th of 18 scheduled live broadcasts with the six candidates registered for the 27 September presidential elections. Today's studio guest is Professor Emil Constantinescu, candidate of the Democratic Convention of Romania [CDR]. An unidentified announcer says that Constantinescu will be questioned by a panel of four reporters consisting of: Tia Serbanescu, from ROMANIA LIBERA; Mircea Florin Sandru, from TINERETUL LIBER; Victor Nitelea, from ADEVARUL; and Mircea Suciu, from EVENIMENTUL ZILEI.

The first question refers to the subject of violence in the election campaign and to the "Timisoara incident" involving presidential candidate Gheorghe Funar of the Romanian National Unity Party [PUNR]—attacked by the locals during an electoral appearance in that city—and to the "accusations of unfairness leveled at the CDR" by Funar and by National Salvation Front [FSN] candidate Caius Dragomir, "who had a similar unpleasant experience while campaigning in Arad last night." Constantinescu wants "the truth to come out from objective sources, after due investigations," and states his "principled position of nonviolence" and of "condemnation of any action that may hamper the presentation of any candidate's electoral program, regardless of who is behind such actions, even if they are members of the CDR." Nevertheless, he finds it "strange" that these accusations are made "at a time when the CDR is clearly leading in the electoral race and when the CDR presidential candidate himself is leading in both ballots," which makes one wonder whether all this is a "mere diversion."

Referring to Constantinescu's electoral statements regarding his "readiness for a dialogue, including those who will not vote for him," Mircea Florin Sandru asks him "who are those who will not vote for you?" Constantinescu says that "in general, the well-informed people will vote for me; those who are less well informed, particularly those who are not ready for a dialogue yet, will be against me; I am sure that the extremists will not vote for me."

Asked whether he is a monarchist, Constantinescu says that "since he is running for the presidency of a republic, it is obvious that I am a republican at this time." Nevertheless, he adds that he will "always submit to the nation's will and the law," and if the nation wants to change the form of government and the law sanctions that change, he will "obey the nation's will and the law, when the time comes; right now, I am a republican."

Asked about his qualifications for the position of president, Constantinescu reviews his activities in the past two and a half years, such as his contribution to founding the University Solidarity, whose goal was the "civic education of the people and the struggle for true democracy," the Civic Alliance movement, whose vice president was elected, and the CDR, whose presidential candidate he became.

Asked to make a "robot portrait" of the prime minister he is likely to appoint if elected, Constantinescu says that "it is not the name that counts, but the characteristics of the man." Likewise, "it is not important whether he is a party representative or an independent." Constantinescu prefers the next prime minister to be "both a politician and a technocrat, under the age of 60," provided he has the necessary qualifications for the job and is of "impeccable morality."

Asked why he did not yet visit the Republic of Moldova, Constantinescu says that he "intends to visit Moldova, if time permits it," but this is not the issue. The issue is the lukewarm interest shown so far by the public at large in this matter. Nevertheless, he notes "an increase of late in the Romanian public opinion's interest in Moldova," and assesses Mircea Druc's decision to run for Romania's presidency, as "one of the positive things of this electoral campaign." Asked to list some of the "absolute priorities on the agenda of the future Parliament, government, and president," Constantinescu begins by emphasizing that the president should be a "balancing factor, on a mission of national reconciliation; once internal stability is assured, this can be the foundation for a good image abroad." After pointing out that "there is no collective responsibility," he says that a top priority will be to "reveal the whole truth about the time of dictatorship, the events of 21 December 1989 with all their inherent diversions, the various miners' incursions, and particularly the horrible corruption we know nothing about." He reproaches both governments for a "lack of transparence" on all these accounts. Another priority is to ensure adequate commodity supplies for next fall and winter.

Asked whether he thinks four years is enough time to bring about a change, Constantinescu answers in the affirmative, adding that "if I were not convinced of that, I would not be running for the presidency."

Asked whether he will still have time for his students if elected president, Constantinescu says that if elected, he will no longer be the rector of Bucharest University, but he "will still try to give two one-hour lectures per week."

Victor Nitelea asks Constantinescu what he thinks about the fact that "all presidential candidates are former members of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP]." Constantinescu says that he was a "rank-and-file member" and that "none of the other candidates, except for President Iliescu, have been either activists or nomenklatura members." He denies that the former RCP was an "elitist spearhead of the nation" and emphasizes that there was an "extremely big gap between the nomenklatura and the rest of the party members."

Asked about his chances of winning the presidential elections, Constantinescu says that he has "balanced chances, based on real facts, on the results of public opinion polls, and on the reception extended to him in the large cities."

Incumbent President Ion Iliescu

AU2109192792

[Editorial Report] Bucharest Romania Network in Romanian at 1600 GMT on 21 September carries a 40-minute studio election program entitled "Candidates for the Presidency of Romania Before the Electorate," the 16th of 18 scheduled live broadcasts with the six candidates registered for the 27 September presidential elections. Today's studio guest is incumbent President Ion Iliescu, running on behalf of the Democratic National Salvation Front [FDSN]. An unidentified announcer says that Iliescu will be questioned by a panel of four reporters consisting of: Paul Dobrescu, CURIERUL NATIONAL; Mircea Florin Sandru, TINERETUL LIBER; Victor Nitelea, ADEVARUL; and Janos Gyarmath, ROMANIAI MAGYAR SZO.

The first question refers to "his position on the question of national minorities." Iliescu says that he considers that "all inhabitants of this country are citizens of the country, regardless of their belonging to an ethnic group or to a religious, political, or ethnical minority." He adds that the "Hungarian minority has lived alongside of the Romanians on these lands for 1,000 years" and that the Constitution guarantees "full freedoms and basic rights, including the use of the mother tongue, in accordance with similar rights extant in the civilized world of today." In this context, Iliescu says that "we are the only country in the world where all the spokesmen of the minorities are represented in Parliament."

Asked to name "three things that he would no longer do, given his present experience, if one could turn back the clock two and a half years," Iliescu says that this presupposes a "more detailed analysis," given the "difficult and tense moments that we went through, particularly in the first half of 1990, after the creation of provisional forms of the state institutions." In this respect he refers to the "street demonstrations in Victoria Square on 12 January 1990," under whose pressure "two proclamations were issued—on banning a certain party and reinstating the death penalty." He admits that that was a "moment of weakness, even though the proclamations were revoked the following day," and says that "he would not do the same again today." Next, Iliescu refers to the "ethnic strife in Tirgu Mures on 15 March 1990" and regrets that he had been "kept busy in Bucharest" at the time, adding that his "physical presence in Tirgu Mures might have prevented and eased the tension." Finally, Iliescu refers to the 1990 University Square sit in and to "reproaches that I did not enter into a direct dialogue with the

demonstrators." He says that he had been "put off by the impertinence of those who requested such a meeting," but now admits that "maybe tensions would have quieted down, if I had disregarded this resentment and agreed to a meeting with them, as requested." He "regrets" his public outburst, when he called the demonstrators "hooligans," which is "uncharacteristic of me, since I usually keep my calm and balance."

The next question refers to the "January 1990 release by the National Salvation Front [FSN] of a declaration on guaranteeing the rights of minorities that was hailed by the Hungarian population and the representatives of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [UDMR]." Janos Gyarmath asks Iliescu "why this declaration was qualified later as a mistake." Iliescu says that he "did not consider it a mistake, but rather a correct political act that reflected our position in general." However, "the declaration contained two points that acquired a different presentation": One was reference to "collective rights, which, from a legal viewpoint, does not represent the most suitable formulation" and the second reference was to a "ministry of nationalities," which was the "wrong approach to tackling this issue," since the problem of "integration of minorities" in Romania's social life "cannot be solved by a ministry, but rather on all planes."

Victor Nitelea of ADEVARUL asks Iliescu to comment on a "news item published in the quarterly bulletin No. 3 of the Friendship Association of Frenchmen Originating From Romania," according to which "Mr. Emil Constantinescu of the Democratic Convention of Romania [CDR] pledged during his July 1990 visit to France, to reinstate the constitutional monarchy and restore without delay the real estates and lands to the former owners and their successors." Iliescu says that "it is up to Mr. Emil Constantinescu to answer that and confirm or deny the truth of these assessments," which "sort of coincide with other public statements he has made on the issue of the monarchy." In Iliescu's opinion, "this only confirms not only Mr. Emil Constantinescu's positions, but also those of the CDR and its leading force, the National Peasant Christian Democratic Front [PNT-cd]." Iliescu is "concerned" about the "social effects" of such a platform that aims at a "restoration of the old, pre-war realities."

Asked "whether he believes that the claims of the representatives of the Hungarian minorities are abusive, capable of prejudicing the majority population," Iliescu says that he thinks that the "strong" insistence on the separation of schools that was turned into a "crucial issue," has created a state of "annoyance, particularly since it does not solve the real problems of the children in mixed areas." In his opinion, "the UDMR leadership was wrong in this respect," given the fact that "teaching in the mother tongue has been ensured anyway in our country." Iliescu believes that "appropriate solutions could have been found to all problems, through the preservation of a climate of good understanding at local, central, and all levels."

Asked "what hurt him most about some people's approach to his biography," Iliescu finds fault with "certain people of ill-faith, who looked for skeletons in his cupboard." He says he has been a "public man for most of his life," hence everybody knows his record.

Asked to comment on allegations made by his opponents in the electoral campaign to the extent that "if Iliescu is elected, he will take away the peasants' lands and reestablish the agricultural cooperatives," Iliescu terms such statements as "lies told in ill-faith," after which he proceeds to talk about the need for the "new land owners" to enter into "free associations" in order to "cope with the requirements of modern agriculture and to stay competitive."

In answer to another question, Iliescu says that the "members of the defunct Romanian Communist Party with higher positions in the party," should only be judged on the basis of "whether they became partners in and were co-responsible for the policy that was negative, at times even catastrophic, for the country."

Asked whether he had "ever thought of quitting as president" in the past two and a half years, Iliescu says that he is "not a man who gives up easily," despite the occasional campaign of "slanders, hatred, and verbal violence" against him. Life has "steeled" him, he believes in his "inner resources," and is going to "see through the mandate he has received from the electorate."

In answer to another question, he asks for "stricter control and supervision by the owner, which in the majority of cases is the state," over the "huge discrepancies" between the salaries of managers and employees in the same enterprise; in this respect, he pleads for the elaboration of better legislation and a "statute of the public servant."

Asked whether he and his adversaries observed the principles of fair play he had called for at the start of the electoral campaign, Iliescu says that he "has done his best" to observe these principles and "refrained from any personal attacks on his competitors." He adds that "in my opinion, these rules were not observed by the CDR." Nevertheless, "compared to the previous electoral campaign, this campaign was conducted with a greater degree of decency and fair play."

Commission Agrees To Close Camps, Free POW's

AU2209202092 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 22 Sep 92

[Text] The State Commission for the Exchange of Prisoners of War has today sent a letter to the Sarajevo command of the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR], in which it informs them that at yesterday's meeting the commission agreed in principle with the aggressor's side that all camps in the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina and in so-called Yugoslavia be disbanded and closed down under the UN's auspices and under the supervision of UNPROFOR. The POW's, escorted by UNPROFOR and the International Red Cross, would be sent to other countries or to liberated territories, according to the wishes of each prisoner.

It is requested in the letter that the UN Security Concil be informed of this agreement and that the UN Security Council be asked to widen UNPROFOR's mandate to encompass these activities. It was proposed that the corridors for the release of POW's and the plan for the closing down of the camps be established by UNPROFOR, together with the aggressor.

On this occasion, the state commission once again emphasized that women, children, and seriously ill people must not be seized or detained, and therefore they cannot be subjects for exchange or included on the exchange lists. It is, therefore, proposed that these persons be freed unconditionally under the supervision of the Red Cross.

Use of Chemical Agents, Napalm Alleged

AU2209155492

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1300 GMT on 22 September carries its regularly scheduled newscast, reception of which was very poor:

Momo Dragicevic begins his dispatch from the Sarajevo Security Services by saying "there are no large-scale actions in the town" today. He says that antiaircraft machine guns and antiaircraft guns are opening fire sporadically at the outskirts of the Stari Grad commune, while the Centar and Novo Sarajevo communes are peaceful. He then reports that Dobrinja is being shelled sporadically, while some grenades landed on Stup just before midday.

Acorrding to an announcer-read report, "Maglaj has been the target of frantic enemy shelling since yesterday." The report states that "several dozen residents lost their lives" in the attack. "The chetniks also attempted an infantry breakthrough," the report continues, adding "that a dramatic appeal for help in arms, food, and medication and has been issued from Maglaj."

Another announcer-read report says that "an attack by two groups of aircraft on Cazin and Velika Kladusa has ended." The report continues, stating that "the antiaircraft defenses of the Bosnia-Hercegovina armed forces succeeded in hitting three enemy aircraft with surface-to-air missiles."

Mijazin Akmic, in his dispatch from Bugojno, reports that the shelling of Bugojno is continuing today and that five civilians have been wounded.

According to an announcer-read report, "Gradacac is being exposed to fierce artillery fire," and "even the forests in the region are burning." "The enemy is using chemical agents-irritants as well as napalm bombs," the report concludes.

'Over 100' Muslims Said Killed in Vogosca Battles

LD2309140992 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 0915 GMT 23 Sep 92

[Text] Over the last 24 hours, the fiercest battles on the Vogosca battlefield have been waged on Zuc hill. In the battles yesterday, four fighters of the Serbian Army were killed and seven wounded, while heavy losses were inflicted on the Muslim forces: over 100 casualties. The Serbian fighters are firmly holding their positions on this hill, and they have finally managed to silence the machine guns that have been sowing death and wounding civilians in Vogosca over the past days.

Forty Civilians Reportedly Killed Near Kalinovik

LD2209113792 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1035 GMT 22 Sep 92

[Text] Kalinovik, 22 Sep (TANJUG)—Serbian military sources in Kalinovik stated today that the final death toll of an attack by Muslim forces the day before yesterday on Serbian civilians near this town was 40, the SRNA press agency reports.

Two trucks carrying Serbian civilians which set off from Miljevina were attacked near Kalinovik, about 40 kilometers south of Sarajevo.

According to the same sources, identification of the dead has not yet been completed because the majority of the victims' bodies are charred.

The victims include three girls and one boy, as well as a large number of women and elderly people, SRNA reports.

Serb Refugees Leave Goradze for Montenegro, Serbia

LD2109131292 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0856 GMT 21 Sep 92

[Excerpt] Pljevlja, 21 Sep (TANJUG)—Last night and this morning, around 1,500 refugees from the Gorazde area, from the right bank of the Drina River, set off for Montenegro and Serbia via Cajnice and Pljevlja.

According to the Serb fighters, there are no more Serb inhabitants left in Gorazde municipality. [passage omitted]

'Some' 400 Mojahedin Reportedly Fighting

AU2309101092 Paris AFP in English 2307 GMT 22 Sep 92

[Report by Michael Evstafiev]

[Text] Sarajevo, Sept 23 (AFP)—Some 400 Mujahidin volunteers are fighting alongside Muslim forces in Bosnia-Hercegovina, their commander said Tuesday [22 September]. Shaykh Abu 'Abd al-Aziz, 50, an Afghanistan veteran, said the volunteers had been in the war-torn country for about four months.

"We are not against the Serbs," he said. "We are only fighting against those who kill Muslims just for being Muslims," he added.

"The Mujahidin are not funded by any country or organisation, only by private people donating money to the cause," he said.

Al-Aziz, sporting a full grey beard and holding a Kalashnikov rifle, said he was conducting the jihad (holy war) in accordance with the Koran. Speaking in the town of Mehurici, 100 kilometres (62 miles) west of Sarajevo, Al-Aziz said "anyone who wishes to join the jihad will be blessed. The Mujahidin don't intend to stay here long, only until it is safe for Muslims to go on living in Bosnia-Hercegovina."

"I am angry that the USA and the European countries did not put an end to the war in Bosnia," Aziz said.

He said the Mujahidin had arrived four months ago but had delayed taking part in military operations for a month in the hope that peace might be restored.

Mujahidin forces in Bosnia had been placed under the Bosnian Moslem military command and operated out of two headquarters, one in Visoko, the other about 20 kilometres (12.5 miles) from Mehurisi, he said.

Sources who spoke to Al-Aziz said they heard practice gunfire during their meeting, gunfire which they said would seem to confirm reports that a Mujahidin training camp was based nearby.

Al-Aziz, who spoke in English but declined to give his nationality, said he had gained his military experience during six years fighting in Afghanistan.

Islamic states, backed by the United States and the European Community, a week ago called on the United Nations to prevent the Belgrade government taking up former Yugoslavia's seat at all U.N. bodies.

Bosnian Posavina Brigade Commander Interviewed

92BA1411A Zagreb NOVI VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 6 Sep 92 p 8

[Interview with Ivan Mijacevic, commander of the 107th Brigade Muslim-Croatian Defense Council of Bosnian Posavina, by Ivica Nosic; date and place not given: "War Beyond Understanding"—first paragraph is NOVI VJESNIK introduction]

[Text] For three months now, the Sava Valley town of Gradacac, an extremely important strategic target for the aggressor, has withstood attacks by disproportionally great military technology and several thousand enemy soldiers.

Gradacac is one of the hottest theaters of the Bosnia-Hercegovian war. Every day, chetniks shower this Sava Valley town and its approaches with destructive projectiles of all calibers, and it has also sustained bombs dropped and missiles fired from aircraft. Gradacac is an extremely important strategic target for the aggressor, and as many as several thousand enemy soldiers have been involved in the attack there, with the most lethal arsenal of weapons at their disposal. We spoke with the commander of the 107th Brigade of the MHVO [Muslim-Croatian Defense Council] of Bosnian Posavina [Sava Valley], Ivan Mijacevic, about the very successful defense of Gradacac.

[Nosic] As far as we have been told, Gradacac is the only town in Bosnia-Hercegovina to christen its military units the MHVO. Were there any problems surrounding that?

[Mijacevic] No, the unit was even formed as the HVO [Croatian Defense Council]. But since it is a majority Muslim unit, we added the letter "M," although Muslims and Croats are together in the trenches, one Croat and five Muslims, three Croats and one Muslim, depending on the point of defense. We have done a great deal to stabilize defense and the entire front.

Specifically, the intensive combat activity in this area has been going on for a full three months. We have all persevered and will continue to do so for a long time. There have certainly been failures, but also successes that inspire wonder. Thus far, we have disabled 43 tanks, something that not even a bigger military formation can boast. We have brought down a helicopter, and captured two tanks and a transporter, which cost us many civilian lives. We have destroyed a fair number of popular "thresholds," which are the most dangerous anti-infantry armored equipment. We have destroyed around 100 chetniks. We too have suffered losses, but I am certain that for every fallen fighter of ours at least five Chetniks have paid with their lives for the adventure of conquering other people's territory and subjugating them.

[Nosic] You have been assailed by an armada composed in part of Knin Chetniks, so-called Marticists, red berets, the Banja Luka Corps, part of the Novi Sad Corps, and some from Bihac?

[Mijacevic] You did not mention the ones from Bijeljina, or rather the former Tuzla Corps. Parts of those corps have attacked us, but their advantage is that they can group their forces in whatever direction they want and whenever they want, because they have free maneuvering room everywhere around our territory. We constitute a peninsula amid the Chetnik positions; we are surrounded on all sides, and they are using that fact. In recent days, the intensity of the war has in fact become too much. Every day we expend more than 30,000 rounds of ammunition. Sarajevo, Gorazde, and other encircled cities are screaming out, but I am certain that they have not experienced a scene of war like ours.

[Nosic] Gradacac has become unrecognizable and lost its symbols, the Tower of Captain Husayn, for example. What is the scale of the destruction in Gradacac?

[Mijacevic] I think that 80 percent of Gradacac has been completely destroyed. Religious structures, schools, hospitals, castle ruins, apartment buildings, and houses: Everything is riddled with bullet holes, everything is destroyed. The industrial zone and the entire economy have been completely devastated.

[Nosic] How do you explain the attacks by such an armada against a relatively small city?

[Mijacevic] I cannot comprehend these combat activities, this war in general, the goals for which it is being waged, who needs it. The war in B-H is entirely senseless. What is happening in B-H is beyond my scope of understanding.

[Nosic] Around Gradacac is the corridor that leads from the Krajina to the so-called FR [Federal Republic of] Yugoslavia, or rather to Semberija?

[Mijacevic] This corridor between Serbia and the Krajina has been established even without Gradacac. With the capture of Gradacac, however, it would clearly be much wider and more secure, and that is certainly the reason for committing so much military equipment and personnel.

[Nosic] In the past, you have vividly depicted relations between Gradacac's Muslims and Croats.

[Mijacevic] There are no secrets about this: We have a common enemy, and we are fighting together. Only after the war is over can we talk about power, about politics, about potential divisions, and that will not be within the context of the opstina, but rather in the state of B-H, etc.

[Nosic] What about Gradacac's Serbs?

[Mijacevic] There will be no room for them in Gradacac, except for the few who have been and remained on our side. There are four Serbs in the ranks of our armed forces. In the HVO, or rather MHVO, we have around 18.9 percent Serbs of the 56,000 inhabitants. And there are also those who did not flee but rather stayed; they are probably loyal. Ultimately it will be seen that they will still have to prove themselves. Those who have left will not be able to live among Muslims and Croats.

[Nosic] Do you believe that Gradacac could fall?

[Mijacevic] That question is extremely difficult. As commander, I believe that it will not fall, but if we do not receive more significant assistance, on which I am counting, most of all in terms of personnel and material-technical resources, then consideration must be given to how to shorten the line of defense.

[Nosic] I do not want to expose a military secret, but tell us if you can what the next military objective of Gradacac is?

[Mijacevic] Linkage to the Republic of Croatia. If that does not happen, then Gradacac will have done all it has done in vain, because it will remain cut off from the world. With the onset of winter, the roads will become impassable, and we will remain isolated.

[Nosic] You once expressed great dissatisfaction with the attitude of the B-H Government toward Gradacac. You said that you have been left to your own devices, that you have been forced to enact your own normative provisions in order to ensure some sort of functioning of life in Gradacac.

[Mijacevic] I said that Gradacac has long since been its own state in the military as well as the sociopolitical and economic sense; we have functioned as a state because we have had no contact whatsoever with either the Regional Staff or the republic. We still have no telephone link with the republic, to say nothing of personal contact, with someone coming to talk to us. However, our man working on ensuring material-technical resources says that lately help has begun to arrive from the republic, which encourages me. I hope that things will be much easier for us as well through the creation of a real state. We will no longer be isolated; we will no longer be beating our heads against the wall.

Serbs Status in National Assembly Examined

92BA1411G Zagreb VECERNJI LIST
in Serbo-Croatian 6 Sep 92 p 6

[Article by Zdenko Duka: "Serbs in Croatian Parliament: Who Will Sit on Assembly Benches?"]

[Text] Until today's inaugural session of the Assembly of the Republic of Croatia begins, no one knows who among the deputies of Serbian nationality will sit on the Assembly benches. Not a single Serb was elected in the August elections. In order to comply with the Constitutional Law on the Rights of Ethnic Communities or Minorities, or in other words to give proportional representation to Serbs in government, 15 seats were added to the Assembly. Of the parties with seats in the Assembly, only the Croatian People's Party [HNS] and the Social Democratic Party (SDP) had Serbs on their state lists, so that the Law on the Election of Deputies was interpreted by the election commission as stipulating that their Serb deputies (two for the HNS, eight for the SDP) should enter the Assembly. This interpretation is rather forced, because the law speaks of entering into the Assembly "in succession according to the proportional success of each list in the elections," but it is hard to challenge it in a situation when even this was not adequate to comply with the constitutional provision about proportional Serb participation in governing.

The solution of the Constitutional Court of Croatia was more dubious. In order to fill the quota with three more mandates, it apportioned the remaining seats to the Serbian People's Party [SNS], even though that party fell far short of the threshold for entering the Assembly. (It received only 1.1 percent of the votes on the state list.) The interpretation was that the Constitutional Court of Croatia believes that the criterion for participating in the allocation of deputy seats (the threshold of 3 percent) does not relate to the lists of national parties. Thus, the Constitutional Court offered more of a political interpretation than a legal one, implying that precisely the SNS is the exclusive national party of Serbs in Croatia. However, that clearly cannot be concluded from the election results.

Finally, on Friday the leadership of the SDP made public its decision not to accept the "Serbian mandates" allotted to it. Any of the eight Serbs who do not respect this decision by the leadership and offer their resignation at the inaugural session will no longer be regarded as members of the SDP. In refusing the mandates, the party bases its argument on a juridical interpretation of the Law on Elections (practice, we see, shows that the law has in fact not been fully defined), but more critical is the political orientation of the party, according to which the SDP cannot allow their three elected Croats to be joined in the Assembly by eight Serbs, thus being (permanently) labeled as a "Serbian party" and for a considerable time shouldering responsibility for the further development of national relations between Croats and Serbs in Croatia. Thus, the decision, which was made after plenty of wavering, should not be understood as a strictly principled one in legal terms, but rather as a politically pragmatic one in which it was considered that the loss of Serb votes in any upcoming elections is many times more reparable than the benefits accruing from the popularity of that decision among Croats today.

The further course of events will become clear from today's Assembly session. According to some confirmed information, some of the remaining "Serbian seats" will be redistributed gratis to Milan Djukic's SNS. Concerning additional elections for Serbian deputies in the Croatian Assembly, the Law on Elections did not go into any detail about how they could be conducted. Such elections would, of course, be much more complicated that voting for representatives of other national minorities. This route will not be explored right now not only for purely technical reasons, but also for political ones. In any event, only time will tell to what extent the question of who represents Serbs in Croatia today and who can represent them will actually remain an open one.

Federal

Air Force Says Aircraft Not Flying Over Bosnia

LD2209172392 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1634 GMT 22 Sep 92

[Text] Belgrade, Sept. 22 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Air Force aircraft are not flying over Bosnia-Hercegovina, the Yugoslav Air Force Command said in a statement on Tuesday [22 September].

The statement is a denial of claims by Croatian Radio that "two groups of aircraft from Serbia" on Tuesday morning attacked the regions of Cazin and Velika Kladusa, in the northeast of the war-ravaged ex-Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Serbia and Montenegro make up the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which was set up following the secession of the other four republics (Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Hercegovina and Macedonia) late last year and early this year.

The Yugoslav Air Force Command described the Croatian Radio report as a fabrication aimed at placing the blame on the Yugoslav Army for its alleged involvement in the war in Bosnia.

In Bosnia-Hercegovina, a civil war broke out five months ago between the local Serbs (who make up 31 percent of the population), on one side, and the Moslems and Croats ([word indistinct] and 17 percent respectively), on the other.

Although international documents, including U.N. Security Council Resolutions, confirm that in Bosnia are fighting thousands of members of the Army of neighbouring [word indistinct] Republic of Croatia, [word indistinct] the blame for the undiminished fighting has been placed on Serbia and Montenegro, against whom the United Nations in late May imposed economic and political sanctions.

The Yugoslav Air Force Command said that it has several times invited U.N. monitors to visit airports in Yugoslavia to dispel any doubts about the alleged activities of its air force outside the territory of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

As another argument in favour of the fact that Yugoslav aircraft are not flying over Bosnia, the command said that the movements of Yugoslav Air Force planes are monitored by U.S. and French AWACS [Airborne Warning and Command System] which would immediately register such overflights.

SDA Will Not Participate in Elections

AU2209144192 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 22 Sep 92

[Text] The Party of Democratic Action [SDA] of Sandzak will not take part in the forthcoming elections. Rasim Ljajic, party secretary, announced this at today's news conference in Novi Pazar. The conditions that the rest of the opposition have been demanding at the roundtable talks are acceptable to us, but they are also irrelevant in this case, he stated. The condition for the SDA to take part in the elections is a solution to the constitutional and legal status of Sandzak. Ljajic supported the UN resolution on the suspension of participation of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in its activities.

The attack on the house of Sefko Alimerovic was condemned, as was the act of setting deputy Mahmut Memic's car on fire, but Radio Novi Pazar was also condemned for giving these two individuals air time which they used to accuse the SDA of terrorism.

Belgrade Red Cross Issues Urgent 'Appeal' for Aid

LD2209203692 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1624 GMT 21 Sep 92

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, Sept. 21 (TANJUG)—The Red Cross Organization of Belgrade on Monday [21 September] appealed to international humanitarian organizations for urgent aid in food, medication, clothing and footwear.

The situation in the capital of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is critical, the Belgrade Red Cross spokesman, Dragan Ilic, told reporters.

Over 500,000 refugees from Bosnia-Hercegovina and Croatia have found shelter in Yugoslavia which is reeling under U.N. sanctions. In Belgrade alone, there are about 150,000 registered refugees, but their number is actually much higher because many of them have been staying with relatives.

Yugoslavia's Republic of Serbia has accommodated 421,009 refugees, 258,863 of whom have fled from war-ridden Bosnia-Hercegovina. About 40 percent of these refugees are children, said the Red Cross Organization of Serbia.

The international relief effort has managed to meet only 10 percent of the overall needs of the refugees, said Radmila Cvetkovic, the secretary of the Serbian Red Cross.

Red Cross officials believe that the number of refugees will increase over the next few weeks because winter is nearing and due to cleansing in parts of Croatia [words indistinct].

Yugoslav health organizations recently appealed to the international community to urgently help babies in Yugoslavia by sending medications and food. Yugoslav citizens fear that the situation will worsen in winter because many hospitals, schools, kindergartens and apartments will be cold due to the shortage of heating oil.

The articles most urgently needed at present were flour, sugar, oil, powdered milk, baby food, soap and detergents, said Serbia's Red Cross.

Medication, winter clothing, footwear and heating oil are also necessary to help the refugees live through the winter, the organization said.

UN Embargo Causes 'Substantial Disturbances'

AU2209141692 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 14 Sep 92 p 32

[Unattributed report: "Empty Shelves"]

[Text] Belgrade—The Belgrade Market Research Institute claims that the real supply of goods on the Yugoslav market will decrease by 21 percent by the end of the year.

This assessment of the worsening supply situation has been made on the basis of a fall in production and imports, as well as a considerable fall in demand. The Institute expects demand to fall by 60 percent in the second half of the year, that is, by 47 percent in the whole of 1992.

Of course, trade shares the fate of the economy and it is clear from the Institute's analyses that the economic embargo has caused substantial disturbances in the whole of the economic organism and therefore in the sales organization. The fall in the standard of living and the reduction of all forms of expenditure has "throttled" the circulation of both money and goods.

According to the analysis made by the Trade Association of the Yugoslav Chamber of Commerce, a direct consequence of these market trends is an increasing shortage of consumer goods, production goods, and energy, which is the most direct consequence of the embargo. All this has, it is said, created conditions for very limited market activity, but also fertile ground for the "black market" and uncontrolled price increases.

The Association points out that in real terms retail trade fell by 59 percent and wholesale trade by as much as 68 percent in the first seven months.

Price Increases Hit Belgrade Shoppers

AU2209151092 Paris AFP in English 1417 GMT 22 Sep 92

[Excerpts] Belgrade, Sept 22 (AFP)—Faced with galloping inflation and growing hardships, thousands of Belgrade residents waited anxiously Tuesday [22 September] for news of Yugoslav Prime Minister Milan Panic's last ditch bid to keep a U.N. seat for his rump state.

The prices of over 600 products went up by between 35 and 100 percent Monday and with milk, sugar, flour and oil in short supply, residents of the Serbian capital are praying that Panic will keep open a lifeline to an international community angry that Serbia has not cooperated in peace initiatives. [passage omitted]

Croatian authorities said Tuesday they were still unable to establish the fate of around 300 mostly Croatian wounded who disapppeared when Serbian forces captured the city of Vukovar last November and took them from a hospital which was supposed to have come under Red Cross supervision.

Serbia

Oil Director: Homes Will Be Heated This Winter

AU2209142492 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 22 Sep 92

[Text] After three months of silence, officials from the Oil Industry of Serbia have decided to inform the public about the situation facing us in the forthcoming period.

Milan Djakovic, director general of the Oil Industry of Serbia, says that it is more than certain that there will be enough derivatives for autumn farming. The situation is somewhat less encouraging when it comes to heating. A debate is still in progress on lower standards, that is, lower temperatures in apartments. The quality of heating will also depend on the UN response to the request for permission to import derivatives for humanitarian institutions. However, even if permission does not come, social and humanitarian institutions, and apartments will be heated, but the industry will be the one to suffer.

Domestic oil production has, for six months, been 4 percent higher than last year, and expectations are that by the end of the year it will be 10 percent higher. The representatives of the Oil Industry of Serbia are dissatisfied with the prices of oil derivatives, but, being aware of the social circumstances of many citizens, they are proposing that the price of the derivatives be redistributed, because tax has never been higher than it is now.

Milosevic: Serbs Not Fighting for Borders

92BA1425A Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 30 Aug 92 p 3

[Article by R. Cuk, including interview with Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Republic of Serbia, by the Greek television station Mega: "The Serbs Are Not Fighting for Borders, But Against Genocide"]

[Text] Athens, 29 Aug—An interview with Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Republic of Serbia, was broadcast last night over the highly prestigious Greek television station Mega. Speaking about the problem of the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, Milosevic said that Serbs represent more than 70 percent of the population in Vojvodina. And if anyone were able to detach it from Serbia, it could be gotten back by the simple desire of those citizens.

Assessing the conference in London, Milosevic said that there are good prospects for a constructive evolution. The level of understanding is higher. This is the result of the involvement of the United Nations and of a large number of governments, and, of course, also the result of activity by the conference's host.

[Milosevic] I do not think that the world is aware of the real relations and the realistic picture of our country. I expected that Great Britain and its prime minister would be able to confirm their reputation as a very responsible and powerful country, and I hope that this will contribute to an objective and honest approach to the Yugoslav crisis.

[Mega] You spoke about Vojvodina, a province that has an autonomous status. What about Kosovo? Do you think there is a solution for Kosovo if it is granted autonomous status?

[Milosevic] They have that. Kosovo is an autonomous province in Serbia. But they do not want to be a part of Serbia.

That is another matter. You are well aware that the right to establish a state does not lie within the scope of the rights of ethnic minorities, and Kosovo is not an Albanian autonomous province. It is an autonomous province of Serbia. The Albanians are not the only ones living there, there are Serbs living there (several hundred thousand), Turks, and Muslims. The Muslims in Kosovo suffered at the hands of the Albanian separatist movement in the same manner as the Serbs. All the Muslims in Kosovo are against Kosovo's separation. That demonstrates that they have not been badly treated there. Certain Muslims have in practical terms been exploited by their political leaders. The Muslims and Serbs are brothers, and the fact that they are killing one another in Bosnia is only in the interest of their enemies. They must stop that, and I am certain that this conference will contribute to halting that bloody war in Bosnia and Hercegovina.

[Mega] You have had some misunderstanding with Mr. Panic. What was the issue?

[Milosevic] We have a somewhat differing approach to this.

[Mega] Do you think that the republic 'Skopje,' as we refer to it, should be recognized under the name Macedonia?"

[Milosevic] I think that Greece and Prime Minister Mitsotakis have reached an agreement in the European Community to resolve that problem, and I think in connection with that arrangement within the community, in which Greece is an equal partner, nothing will be changed in that respect as far as Yugoslavia is concerned.

[Mega] I would like you to comment on something that Prime Minister Panic said in connection with Tito's borders.

[Milosevic] Ask Panic about that, but I agree with the general approach. No one should be fighting for any borders. People have not been fighting for borders. In Croatia, the Serbs have been exposed once again to genocide after 50 years. They have been murdered and forced to leave. They were dropped from the Constitution and discharged from their jobs. And many other injustices occurred. They have not been fighting for borders, but for their own security. For that and for nothing else. Thanks to the excellent mission of Mr. Vance and all the things that he did as a sincere, disinterested, and objective statesman, we achieved an agreement and security was guaranteed by adoption of the UN plan, and after that all things were peaceful. Now they have to talk, they have to have political discussions, political negotiations, but not to kill one another.

I think that that is the best way. If in Bosnia they had had more responsibility, they could have acted in the same way, without bloodshed, they could have resolved that political crisis on the basis of a trilateral consensus and respect for the equal interest of all three nationalities.

[Mega] Is this now the end of the war in Bosnia?

[Milosevic] I hope that this is the beginning of the end of the war. I hope, and I can say that the Republic of Serbia will wholeheartedly support all measures that can assist the peace. This is in fact in the interest of all who live there and, of course, the Serbs who live there. They are all suffering from the war. There is no innocent side in that war. The only innocent ones are the victims.

[Mega] Could you comment on the belief that Serbia has lost the propaganda war, but has won the war on the ground?

[Milosevic] Propaganda warfare is a very pernicious form of warfare. I think that war through the media is just as ferocious as the war with heavy weapons, and it has served the interests of the powers that wanted to destroy and disunite Yugoslavia, who have been operating with a very powerful propaganda machine, one that is very well organized and very well paid. We could not afford and were unable to organize that kind of propaganda, but I am certain that the propaganda effects cannot be long-lasting. I am certain that there are many professional and honest journalists all over the world, that after a time no one will be able to conceal the true picture and truth, whatever has happened in Serbia and Yugoslavia.